

**RE-CONTEXTUALISING AND RE-THEORISING
CULTURAL VALUES IN TEACHER
EDUCATION PRACTICES: A SAMOAN
STANDPOINT**

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M. Ed Studies, BA

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Centre for Learning Innovation
Faculty of Education
Queensland University of Technology
FEBRUARY 2013

Keywords

Colonisation, Standpoint, Globalisation, Hybridity, Heterogeneous, Post-colonisation,

Abstract

This thesis investigates the tensions that result through the nexus of traditional and colonial values in the Samoan education system. This study asks: What are Samoan cultural values? How and why Samoan cultural values are relevant in teacher education practices?

The study is situated within the overall context of the Samoan education system. Education stakeholders have identified a range of educational issues as impediments to the education of Samoan students, namely conflicting value systems, namely the traditional value system, and values determined by the influence of colonisation and globalisation. These conflicting values have led to the lowering of standards in the performance of trainee teachers.

Theories of globalisation and post-colonialism are used in this thesis to illustrate the impact of colonial and global values on the education system and the contested space of traditional values in the lives of Samoan children. Drawing on post-colonialism and globalisation, this study offers a contextual analysis of the colonial, post-colonial and globalised orientations of the Samoan teacher education program.

The study adopts *standpoint theory* to foreground the 'indigenous', marginalised voices often considered inferior in the educational world. Advocates of standpoint theory support the voice of this study through the presentation of arguments relating to indigenous traditional values and their significance in the educational processes of Samoan children in school. Using data from community elders, administrators, lecturers, and students, this study presents a thematic analysis of the current value system. The traditional value system, as invested in education and attempts to capture participants' perspectives with regards to the traditional value system.

The results of the analysis illustrate that the Samoan education system at present does not attribute explicit attention to traditional value system and there is

inadequate inclusion of these values. Hence, there are underperforming teacher trainees, as identified by the Faculty of Education, interview participants. The study recommends that, while there are no easy answers, an attempt to incorporate traditional values alongside global values would warrant a change in teacher education programs.

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List of Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
ECE	Early Childhood Education
EU	European Union
FC	Foundation Certificate
FoA	Faculty of Arts
FOBE	Faculty of Business and Entrepreneurship
FoE	Faculty of Education
FoN	Faculty of Nursing
FoS	Faculty of Science
HDR	Human Development Report
IHE	Institute of Higher Education
IOT	Institute of Technology
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
MESC	Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture
NUS	National University of Samoa
NZCTD	New Zealand Coalition for Trade and Development
PSET	Post-School Education and Training
TVE	Technical and Vocational Education
UNDP	United Nation Development Programme
UN	United Nation
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UPY	University Preparatory Year
WHO	World Health Organisation

Glossary

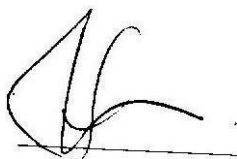
Afioga	presence of the high chief or any other
Aiga	family
Alofa	love
Alofa le faatuaioia	transcendental love
Auaiga	extended family
Amio lelei	good behavior
Aualuma	village women committee
Aumaga	village young men/untitled men
Ava	kava
Ava fatafata	behavior accorded to others
Faaaloalo	respect
Faalavelave	family occasion
Faaleleiga	reconciliation
Faa-matai	chiefly system
Fa'asamoa	Samoan way
Faasinomaga	identity
Faatuatuaina	reliability
Faiga lotu	family prayer
Faifeau	pastor
Fai mea amiotonu	honesty
Feagaiga	covenant
Feavatai	consensus
Fetausia	reciprocity
Fono	forum/meeting
Galulue faatasi	collaboration
Ie toga	fine mats
Ifoga	traditional ceremony to beg forgiveness/bow down or an act of submission
Igavea	hide and seek
Koneseti	concert
mamalu o le aiga	honour

Matai	chief
Matua uu	master of weavers
Noa	bound
Nofo	sitting/staying
O le ala I le pule	the pathway to leadership is through service
Oloa	money, food, goods
O le alofa le faatuaioia	transcendental love
Seepapa	weavers
Siapo tapa	cloth
Soalaupule	collaboration
Sua	gifts of food to a visitor
Susuga	presence of the high chief or any other important person
Ta'ale paepae	cooked fowl
Taitai lelei	good leadership
Tala	stories
Talanoa	conversation
Talosaga	praying
Tautua lelei	good services
Taulelea	untitled man
Tofiga poo tiute tauave	responsibility
Tulafale	orator chief
Tulou	excuse
Umusaga	celebration of completing of church or guest house
Usitai	obedience
Va	space
Va fealoai	mutual respect
Va tapuia	sacred relationship
Vailolo	green coconut

Statement of Original Authorship

The work contained in this thesis has not been previously submitted to meet the requirements for an award at this or any other higher education institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made.

Signature:

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a large, stylized 'A' followed by a horizontal line and a small flourish.

Date:

11

September 2013

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I want to return the many thanks to my Almighty God, who was also my guardian and my supervisor throughout my PhD journey for making this dream and goal a reality.

My supervisors, Professor Allan Luke, thank you for believing in me and having patience. It was a long journey, but you stood by me to the end — thank you for all the encouragement and the words of wisdom. Dr Radha Iyer, thank you so much for helping me; I am indebted to your service, especially the many times you helped me to straighten and polish my ideas and thoughts, as well as editing my thesis. Associate Professor Cushla Kapitzke, who helped me from the beginning of my studies, as well as providing financial support, you will always be remembered. I cannot thank you enough, may God Bless you all abundantly.

I would also like to thank Jennifer Yared and Briony Wainman from the Faculty of Education, supporting me in many ways. Especially when I needed help with proof reading or printing and photocopying. Finally, Kerrie Peterson for editing the thesis.

To my dearest mother, Siniu Tupu Tuia, for loving me unconditionally, as well as praying for me night and day so that I could achieve my goal, thank you for all you have done for me – aemaise lau tapuaiga I aso uma, faafetai lava ia oe lou tina e pele I lou fatu ma lou agaga. This study is also dedicated to my dear father, the late Rev Tupu Tuia; wish you were here to see and witness the fruits of your labour over the many years you taught me to acquire the knowledge and wisdom I now have in life. I love you dad and I miss you so much.

My dear sister Misileti Tupu Tuia-Tusa, and her husband John Tusa, for helping me edit my work, as well as assisting me with accommodation and financial support. Thank you so much, may God bless you all abundantly; words are not enough to express the feelings of appreciation and gratitude for your kindness and generosity.

My nephew Chris Togamau Tupu Tuia, who has done a tremendous job, by reading and editing my thesis without any complaints; thank you so much Chris. May God bless you in many ways, and hope one day, you will be able to do your PhD.

I would also like to thank my brothers Maulupe Manase Tupu Tuia and Pastor Togamau Tupu Tuia, and my sisters Faamanatu Tupu Tuia-Seumanutafa and Safata Tupu Tuia-Faaosofia, for the support that they have given me while I was in Australia for my studies.

I would also like to dedicate this thesis to my brother Sola Faialaga Fuaialii Pisaimalo Tupu Tuia who passed away in 2010. He was one person who dreamt for this day to come, unfortunately, my dear brother is unable to be here, I miss you dear brother. To my nephew Fredrick Sola Fuaialii Pisaimalo Tupu Tuia, who passed away 2011, is also deeply missed.

My nephews and nieces, a big thank you for cheering me throughout my studies, as well as making time to take me out. I love you all.

I am also grateful to Gatoloai Tilianamua Afamasaga for her academic support from the beginning of my studies, where we spent hours and days sorting and defining Samoan cultural values. Thank you so much Gatoloai, you will always be remembered, as one of Samoa's top educators in teacher education.

To my friend and colleague, Dr Rasela Tufue Dolgoy, who spent weeks helping me by reading and editing my work. Thank you for your help, your prayers and support for me will always be in my heart. God bless you my dear friend.

My friend and colleague, Funealii Lumaava Sooaemalelagi, thank you so much for supporting me, especially with your encouraging emails and helping me with my classes when I was away. To all staff members of the Faculty of Education: Dean Auava, Dr. Lake, Ah Chong, Lina Tone-Schuster and Alo Silia Pausisi, thank you all for your support — not only to my studies but also assisting me with my workload.

I would also like to acknowledge the friendship, and advice of my educational guides, my mentors, academic mothers and fathers from the beginning of my teaching career with the Faculty of Education until the day that each departed from FoE — Epenesa Esera (PhD candidate), Margaret Ah Tune (retired), Faatafao Toia

(retired), Perenise Tauaanae (passed away), Kolose Leleimalefaga (passed away), Teevao Liona (passed away). Words cannot express the joy and appreciation for this gift from God; you will never be forgotten in the Faculty of Education.

This work will not be possible without the contribution of my participants. Thank you to the 10 in-service teachers from Saina and Vaimoso Primary Schools for accepting the request to take part in my research. The five FoE Lecturers, who offered their time and support to our focus group discussion. I also want to acknowledge the contribution of the six important political, educational and religious figures in Samoa, for allowing me to interview them for my study, faafetai tele lava. Last but not least the 20 student teachers from the Faculty of Education who volunteered to take part in my study. Thank you so much to you all and may God bless you all in many ways.

To my friends, Avalogo Aifai Tunupopo Patu, Dr Silipa Silipa, Tauvaga Vaai, Leiataua Iosefa Leiataua, Sivaimauga Fuimaono, Siliva Valasi, Manu Amosa and Pulou Tupuivao, Rosa Faifua-Valasi and Tailalo Valasi, thank you guys for hating me for not spending enough time with you, fortunately, you are all still here with me. Thank you for understanding, caring, and loving me while I was struggling to get through with life and my studies.

I want to leave everyone with a biblical verse from King Solomon's words:

Hope deferred makes the heart sick, but a longing fulfilled is a tree of life
(Proverbs13:12)

O le faamomoe ua tuai ona taunuu, e faanoanoa ai le loto, ao le manao ua taunuu, o le laau o le ola lea (Faataoto 13:12).

Chapter 1: **SETTING THE FOUNDATION OF THE STUDY**

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This study is an inquiry into Samoan cultural values in current Samoan teacher education practice. While Samoan cultural values have played a positive contribution in guiding and controlling how I and other Samoans of my generation have succeeded in education, family, community and employment, the significance of these Samoan cultural values within the education system is yet to be clarified. This study aims to analyse and clarify this relationship.

This chapter sets out the aims, the objectives and the purpose of the research study. It describes the context of the study and sets out the research question and the manner in which it will be addressed. This is followed by an overview of the concepts and methodology and concludes with a discussion of potential importance of the research study to current teacher education practice in Samoa.

This study specifically focuses on indigenous issues of difference and otherness within a postcolonial education system. The study argues for a hybrid third space that arises out of clashes between indigenous Samoan cultural value systems with colonial forms of education. The theories of postcolonial scholars, such as Homi Bhabha (1994), Frantz Fanon (1967), bell hooks (1990), Edward Said (1978), Linda Smith (1999) and Gayatri Spivak (2003) have been integrated to provide a conceptual framework to support this research study. The research of these post-colonial scholars voices their concerns stemming from their own educational experiences in a heterogeneous world.

This chapter begins by exploring my personal standpoint on life and education. My standpoint illustrates how many Samoans have been disadvantaged with western education system because Samoan ways of learning and understanding are different from those of dominant groups in Western society. That is, the social and cultural behaviours in Samoa are far different with New Zealand and Australia. The

following narrative is therefore the author's reflections on Samoan life, whilst undergoing a western educational journey in Samoa, New Zealand and Australia. This reflection, or narrative, lays the foundation for the discussion of the shift of Samoan life from homogeneous to heterogeneous. It also provides an example of how my own experience has emerged as a hybrid educational experience spanning the three different cultures of Samoa, New Zealand and Australia. For a generation of postcolonial scholars, narrative is explanation; biography sets the stage for analysis. As mentioned earlier that it is within this same space that I want to share my own Samoan life experiences before embarking on my task.

1.2 PERSONAL AND CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

'Samoan cultural ways of behaving in social and cultural gatherings were crucial during my upbringing in the home, school, church and village community. My experience is typical of many Samoans after independence in 1962. I remember being taught to fold my legs when sitting. I was told that stretching the legs while facing other people was rude. It was also important when walking in front of people to keep your head down and say 'tulou' (excuse me), as a sign of respect.

My parents told me to speak with respect to elders and 'matais' (chiefs') of the village, and to remember not to intrude when two elders were conversing. A young person had to address elders or significant adults as 'susuga' or 'afioga' (high chief or any other important person). A person delivering a message to another household had to sit with legs folded and then give the message. Eating and drinking while walking was also taught as disrespectful in the Samoan culture.

I also remember the evening family prayer (faiga lotu), where we sang a hymn, followed with a prayer by my father. If one of us had disobeyed my mother or father on that day we were given a lecture before we proceeded to the prayer. Education was very important to all parents, and they fully supported their childrens' education. Many times we were reminded of how lucky we were, and about the high standard of education in Samoa. We were told that we should work hard in school so that one day we would get a good job.

Our parents also applauded our generation and many educational opportunities, as well as the new things that had not been available to them in the

past. For instance, higher education during colonisation was absent. Instead all children ended their schooling at Form 2 level, which is currently called Level 8 today.

School life in the 1970s up to the early 1980s, for most Samoans, was strongly guided by the (fa'asamoa) Samoan way both in Primary and Secondary school. A student's behaviour was informed by the Samoan culture in relation to respect and obedience, where students listened quietly and only asked questions when necessary. School in Samoa was interesting and motivating due to parents and teachers close partnership in monitoring of students school attendance and participation; however, this changed dramatically when my family moved to New Zealand. Migrating to a new country at 13 years of age was exhilarating and terrifying. As I began my educational journey in a foreign land, I was introduced to students of different cultural backgrounds, who spoke fluent English, and were born in New Zealand. These students displayed poor behaviour and a lack of respect towards their teachers.

The culture shock was tremendous. Teenage pregnancy, school truancy, disobedience, and making fun of teachers were common. I found myself imitating the behaviours of some students in my new school, which contradicted my Samoan cultural values. School in New Zealand was something I was never prepared for. I was speaking and writing in another language. My mentors and my Samoan schooling background did not prepare me to face challenges within a new educational environment at a young age.

My story parallels the current problems encountered by student teacher trainees at the National University of Samoa, Faculty of Education. The National University of Samoa is situated in Samoa, but a university is a new establishment for most families who are from urban and rural villages. Students from the rural villages, sent by their parents to further their education at the National University of Samoa, are introduced to a whole new life of freedom. That is, students now have to make their decisions independent of their parents and with little assistance from their urban facilitators (relatives or friends). Coming into the National University of Samoa is like entering a new country with a totally different culture.

The University now has a similar environment to that of my own educational experience in the early 1980s in New Zealand. There are behavioural issues such as degrading remarks addressed to teachers, lack of respect and answering back. Youth pregnancies, truancy, and bullying, and demeaning and belittling peers have become rife in the National University of Samoa, and sadly right across Samoa. The issues experienced by New Zealand schools in the 1970s and 1980s are now common in the Samoan education system today. This usually happens to students who come from rural villages or outer islands. These students have had very little contact with the outside world and their lives have been restricted by village and church life.

When missionary teaching began in Samoa, Samoans were unprepared to adopt a new life, but were attracted by the new Christian life promised by missionaries. After missionaries arrived, open intimacy, public display of affection, and walking half naked in an open space became taboo, even though this had been acceptable to Samoans in pre-missionary times.

The social and cultural environment of Samoa during and after colonisation was devoid of nightclubs, bars, alcohol and drugs. In reality, crime was never a major problem in Samoa. The type of entertainment that mainly occupied the spare time of individuals was to watch a village 'koneseti' (concert) performed by a group of women from surrounding villages. Sometimes, people would sit around at night time on the fields and road sides gossiping, while children played hide and seek (i'gavea). People got involved with sports tournaments, such as cricket or volleyball, while children went to pastor schools later in the afternoon. Sunday was a Holy Day, where everyone went to church and the village elders were on duty during church service to check that every person attended. This was the kind of social and cultural life that most Samoans lived before the arrival of many Europeans, and their cultures and languages in Samoa.

Samoa has altered some parts of its culture due to the many changes introduced by globalisation. The changes have impacted on society, culture, the physical environment and the psychological well-being of people. Where in the past the missionary and religious influence was strong, most denominations now operate as business institutions rather than following the guidelines set by missionaries. For instance, most churches now have annual fund raising to fund church activities as

well as paying employees who are employed as teachers and clerical staff. Further, changes brought about by colonialists changed the once homogenous society into a heterogeneous society. For instance, through immigration, there are many new cultures and languages being use in school. In fact, such inclusion of new cultures and languages is an indication of a heterogeneous Samoan society. Hence, the reality of life for Samoans after colonisation has been always about change. This study attempts to document this change, as it is reflected in the education system.

1.3 PURPOSE OF STUDY

Using a post-colonial, Indigenous standpoint, this study investigates the relevance of Samoan cultural values to the current teacher education practices. Its main concern derives from numerous instances where student teachers display behaviour in the classroom that is viewed by lecturers, teachers and Samoan academics and cultural experts as incompatible with Samoan culture. These inappropriate behaviours include missing classes, not keeping up with assignment due dates, swearing in the classroom and disobeying instructions. For this reason, I am studying the application, or the lack, of Samoan cultural values in teacher education practices. The study harnesses ancient Samoan knowledge, the history of missionary education, and theories of imperialism, colonialism, globalisation and post-colonialism to analyse Samoan cultural values in relation to current teacher education practices in Samoa.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTION

This research asks: How are Samoan cultural values relevant in teacher education practices? The research question is of great importance to the current education system of Samoa. The study is in the context of cultural and economic globalisation. Moreover, Samoan cultural values are important to Samoan people and many still maintain the belief that these values identify who they are in a society that is being rapidly dominated by global economics, technology, knowledge and skills.

The study begins with a review of foundational definitions and works on historical and contemporary social constructions of Samoan culture. Culture and cultural values are essential in generating attitudinal behaviour and conduct of people in different contexts and activities. In 1965, anthropologist, Louise Gardner,

conducted the first ethnographic research on Samoan cultural values with people of ‘*Gautavai*’ village in the big island of Savaii. She focused on Samoan values displayed in child/adult interaction and communication. Her study showed that Samoan cultural values were vital to Samoan way of life before, during and after 1960’s.

Samoan values, as discussed in this study, represent a culture that supports a way of life that is chosen by people to live. As stated by Faaulufalega (2008), “culture is the way people live and how they associate with each other and their environment” (p. 9). In Samoa, culture identifies who they are as individuals with their everyday activities. Goodall (1986) refers to culture as a classification, codify and communicate their experiences symbolically; providing meaning to human existence or identity. Culture is a way of life, which includes knowledge, values, belief, morals, custom and any habits acquired by individuals situated in a society. Tofaeono (2000) states that culture is a “total sum of formulas or patterns (including laws of nature) peculiar for human survival” (p. 28). That is, culture maintains solidarity amongst members of society, and instils the values and beliefs for people to follow and practice. Therefore, Samoan culture is the foundation for human development and their social activities.

According to Tuia (1999), in the Samoan context, values are seen to be the nucleus from which all daily activities are directed, produced and developed – physically, socially, spiritually and intellectually. Samoan cultural activities were conducted in a collaborative and engaging manner with the entire community participating in the event. The emphasis was on informal learning, and on experiential acquisition of requisite knowledge and skills. Maiai (1957), in her study of Samoan education states “the purpose of this informal learning was to promote a close association between the individual and his environment, both physical and social” (p. 166). That is, the significance of Samoan cultural values are regarded by Samoan cultural and academic experts as the ‘treasures’ from within which all aspects of the Samoan lifestyle are derived, and these treasures are the axis around which many Samoan achievements pivot.

In Samoa, *O le ala i le pule o le tautua* means the pathway to leadership is through service. In other words, young people should work hard, obey and respect elders, parents, teachers, *matais* (chiefs), village pastors, and significant adults. The *fa'asamoa*, therefore constructs and guides people's cultural, social, educational, political, and religious everyday activities in their homes and communities.

The word *fa'asamoa* as defined by Fana'afi Aiono (1992, cited in Silipa, 2004, p. 269) means "... a system based on affective ties that manifests in the *fa'amatai*, (chiefly system) and encapsulates all aspects of life: economic, political, social and cultural". Mulitalo (1998) refers to it "as the total make-up of Samoan culture, comprising of both visible and invisible characteristics – the basis of principles, values and beliefs that influence and control the behaviour and attitudes of Samoans" (cited in Silipa, 2004, p.269). The *fa'asamoa* in politics, social and cultural structure and operation is core to Samoan cultural values. Indeed, Samoan values controls people's behaviours when physically interacting or communicating in political matters or in social and cultural activities. Therefore, *fa'asamoa* comprises Samoan cultural values and is seen to be the property of the home, the village community and nation.

These traditional Samoan values are love (*alofa*), respect (*faaaloalo*), sacred relationship (*va tapuia*), mutual respect (*va fealoai*), behaviour accorded to others (*ava fatafata*), obedience (*usitai*), responsibility (*tofiga poo tiute tauave*), reciprocity (*feavatai/fetausiai*), consultation (*soalaupule*), identity (*faasinomaga*), collaboration (*galulue faatasi/fesoasoani ai*), good services (*tautua lelei*), and honesty (*fai mea amiotonu*). This list of Samoan cultural values is shared by Samoans with whom I have academic or social contact, as well as from my own Samoan life experiences with my parents and grandparents. An exploration of these values will be discussed further in Chapter 2.

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Samoan cultural values, as described by Samoan cultural anthropologist Felise Vaa (2006) in his report featured in the *National Human Development Report*, are still important; but these values have now been transformed due to the emergence of global economic values, beliefs and ideas. These global economic values, beliefs and

ideas change how most Samoans think and speak, as well as how they conduct their day to day life situations. The Samoan Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (MESC) advocates values as “the internal beliefs and attitudes held by individuals and groups that are used in responding to every-day events” (MESC, 2006, p. 38). That is, values are main concern of individuals in society, reflecting core beliefs and deciding how they will live and what they will treasure. For this reason, the saying, ‘*E sui faiga ae tumau faavae*’ (there is only one foundation, but many expressions) exists in Samoa.

According to Vaa (2006), “what we see today in Samoa is a reinvigorated cultural system, proof that despite the inroads in education and other social, political, economic and religious changes, Samoan society is essentially conservative” (p.113). This same belief drives this research study. After all, Samoan cultural values are still seen as meaningful to the life of the people and proof of their Indigenous identities.

In 2007, I and two other NUS lecturers (Niusila Faamanatu-Eteuati and Silipa Silipa) were invited by the Ministry of Education to participate in a collaborative research project on Samoan values. We were asked to find out whether Samoan values are stable and properly utilised by primary schools in relation to the five key concepts (quality, equity, relevance, efficiency and sustainability) of the current education policy in Samoa (MESC, 2007). The results revealed that not all schools and students have applied Samoan values appropriately. For instance, some resources and materials were not properly cared for. Student teachers’ behaviours in and outside of the classroom were also seen to be a problem. Throughout my teaching in Samoa, I have been an observer in and out of the classroom, where I have witnessed behaviours that were incompatible with Samoan cultural values.

The theoretical foundation of this study is post-colonialism with a specific focus on two key concepts: hybridity and heterogeneity. Historically Samoan cultural values were transformed by missionaries and colonisers, as well as by globalisation. In the post-colonial era, it has been shown that missionaries drew on religion; hence, the religious values conflate with the values prescribed by the Church. In fact, it is different from traditional Samoan values, which draws on the indigenous system, while colonisation brought western values to Samoa. Therefore, hybridity and heterogeneity are used in this study to explain the impact of missionary influence, the

colonial period and now globalisation on Samoan cultural values. In so doing, there is an attempt to re-theorise, re-contextualise and re-conceptualise the position of Samoan cultural values in a former colonised nation.

1.6 POST-COLONIAL THEORY

Post-colonial theory draws on different disciplines to respond to the colonial constructions in texts and systems, education policies and education systems. As Desai and Nair (2005, p. 5) observe, post-colonial helps ‘investigate’ the entrenchment of stereotypical colonial notions and in formulating concepts of subalternity and hybridity. The main purpose of post-colonial theory is to expose the colonial legacy that underpins economic, political and educational systems. Various studies have been undertaken to examine different aspects of post-colonialism. Spivak (2003) studies how the subaltern is constructed in colonial discourses. Bhabha’s (1994) concern is with the in-between spaces created through the tensions of mimicry and ambivalence. Adopting a post-colonial stance implies undertaking a rigorous examination of the oppression encountered by the colonised and exposing the history of symbolic violence of the coloniser. It provides an avenue for the voice of the Other, so that the territory can be re-appropriated and re-presented. Post-colonial theory in this study is a means to question and examine the values proposed by education policies and expose these as a reproduction of colonial power. In addition, post-colonial theory tends to re-construct and re-contextualise the social, culture, education, economic and political issues faced by individuals and nations in order to make meanings of their social and cultural living situations after colonisation. This research responds to colonialism by theorising the concept of hybridity and heterogeneity. Hybridity, in this study, will be used to clarify the position of Samoan cultural values in a western type education system. Moreover, it is to provide a space for justifications of these Samoan values and how they can contribute towards guiding a Samoan child to acquire certain behaviours while schooling for western knowledge and skills suitable for a post-colonial society. Another key concept within post-colonialism relevant to this study is heterogeneity. Homogeneity and heterogeneity are used to describe and differentiate communities and populations, including cultural, demographic, ethnic and socio-political groups. Homogeneity in particular represents purity and sameness, where values and beliefs

are untouched. Heterogeneity, as defined by Goldberg (2005), “is simply the general characterisation for diverse social arrangements that in fact have been historically fashioned” (p. 73). Heterogeneity in relation to culture indicates an understanding that culture is made up of many different types of entities. The values, beliefs and ideas of Samoan culture have changed in the presence of imperialism. The impact of colonialism upon indigenous cultures extends beyond the post-colonial period itself.

Samoan cultural practices have changed to heterogeneous hybrid cultural practices, where money has more value than cultural protocols. In Samoa today an untitled young man who has returned from overseas with university qualifications and a good salary can make monetary contributions to village developments and is favoured above a village chief. The high chief has no university qualifications or money and can make little financial contribution to family and village affairs. This example symbolises a change in cultural values, beliefs and ideas in Samoa’s cultural structure and organisation.

The two post-colonial key concepts of heterogeneity and hybridity along with in-betweenness, otherness and third space will be used in this study to comprehend the relevance of Samoan cultural values in teacher education practices. The terms ‘differences’, ‘otherness’ and ‘resistance’ in the work of Said (1978) and Bhabha (1994) are also found in Fanon’s (1967) and hooks’s (1990) studies of post-colonisation. Bhabha’s notion of ‘mimicry’, refers to a “reformed, recognisable other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same” (Bhabha, 2005, p. 266), but very different in cultural values, language, skills, knowledge and behaviour. The notion of mimicry occurs in a hybrid system where people are free to choose their cultural and social values, beliefs and ideas for socialisation in education.

The idea of ‘mimicry’ is described as an interaction between cultures in this ‘third space’, where each culture mimics the other in terms of values, beliefs and ideas, which may negate the meaning and true identities of a particular culture. This usually happens when different cultures come into contact with one another in one society, which then constructs a hybrid culture. In fact, all heterogeneous cultural values, beliefs and ideas within a hybrid system must collaborate with one another. However, the most vulnerable culture in this third space is the indigenous culture known as the inferior culture in society. In this study, I aim to investigate how the

third space repositions colonial values and how indigenous cultural values gain a space.

1.7 GLOBALISATION IN SAMOA

“As a set of processes that tend to deterritorialise important economic, social, cultural practices from their traditional boundaries in nation-states” (Suarez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004, p. 14), globalisation is a contested notion (Brenner, 1999). Various described as Americanisation (Hirst, 1997) or global modernity (Featherstone, 1995), globalisation in present times is a concern with the liberal and neo-liberal value systems that cross national boundaries to impact on indigenous ways of living and replace them with global ideologies and methodologies. Jones (1998) notes that globalisation is organised around economic, political and cultural agenda. The political agenda explains how international organisations have impacted on the education policies of Samoa.

The cultural impact of globalisation is through heightened cosmopolitanism, media-mediated representations, and “the global distribution of images and information” (Banya, 2010, p. 56). In terms of teacher education in Samoa, the impact of globalisation is felt through the on-going changes that are occurring to the education policies that are now designed around a western-oriented, neo-liberal agenda. The aims of the present system are to infuse a market-oriented, consumerist outlook where student numbers are important and student autonomy is stressed as necessary (Banya, 2010). Thus the values that are stressed are individual success at the cost of social and civic responsibility. The impact of global economic on transnational cultures and internationalisation are being super-imposed on local cultures and local values (see Welch, 2001). That is, the rise in economic developments in developed nations influence former colonised nations, and they affect the social and cultural situations of individuals. In fact, most people in small island nations will suffer the consequences of global economic developments, due to the rise in the cost of living, as well as education.

In the Samoan education system, global changes have led to modification of education policies. The changes in Samoan education policy tend to rely on borrowed policies from donor countries and world agencies, which have financially

supported Samoa with education. In return, Samoa has accepted these educational policies. This brings the need to amalgamate new policies with Samoan cultural values to formulate an education system that is not Samoan but a hybrid education system.

In brief, the two concepts of post-colonialism and globalisation are examined to comprehend the mixing and blending of social and cultural values within a heterogeneous Samoan society. The significance of exploring Samoan cultural values is heightened by the fact that the challenges of globalisation have further added to the complexity of the issues confronting the Samoan education system.

1.8 SAMOAN CULTURAL VALUES INTERSECTING WITH WESTERN VALUES IN EDUCATION

My intention here is to discuss the differences between Samoan cultural values and western values that now dominate Samoan social, cultural and educational processes. These differences will be theorised through the theories of resistance, differences, otherness and mimicry situated in the third space of a heterogeneous society (Bhabha, 1994).

From the ancient period, and as described by village and church elders, Samoan values such as respect (*faaaloalo*) and good services (*tautua lelei*) have established the relationship between a *matai* (chief) and his/her *au'aiga* (extended family). That is, people know their '*va tapuia*' (*va* literally means 'space' or 'relationship', and *tapuia* means 'sacred'—sacred relationship) with one another, which means that a younger person must respect the older person, while the untitled man must respect his chiefs. This is thought to contribute to developing good and stable education for student teachers in and out of the classroom.

The current education system in Samoa has its own values that may seem similar to Samoan cultural values but are different in context and content. In fact, the present system of education in Samoa is 'Western' in structure and content. The aims and objectives of the current education system contain "universal values" that contradict Samoan cultural values. This creates a mismatch between socialisation at home and institutional expectations.

Previously, there were attempts by Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (MESC) to integrate Samoan values into the Samoan teacher education system. The idea was to promote Samoan cultural values and to help with student teachers' behaviour management in the classroom. In so doing, the MESC conducted research on values in general, with some primary schools both in Upolu and Savaii. The result showed that values were well taught in schools (MESC, 2007). However, it did not seem to help students' behaviour for there is still an increase in unwanted behaviours of student teachers. Sociological studies of globalisation and cultural exchange, for example Featherstone (1995), have suggested that such problems may derive from intercultural contact with tourists, western consultants and media.

The lack of Samoan values in teacher education is a major concern in Samoan teacher education, calling for greater concentrated action and focus to be given to making cultural values explicit to teacher trainees in the FoE. Present concerns are derived mainly from teacher trainees' behavioural problems, such as class disruptions, missing classes, and disrespecting lecturers and fellow students in the classroom during teaching and learning.

This research claims that the current Samoan education system is a hybrid and dominated by the values, beliefs and ideas of developed nations and world agencies. Increasingly, this contradicts traditional Samoan cultural values, beliefs and ideas. This, in turn, makes it hard for students, parents and Samoans in general to understand western values, ideas and beliefs without tension and conflict. This may derive from some Samoan parents' and students' limited exposure to the outside world. It might also derive from some parents not having obtained higher education qualifications, which influences their children's values and behaviours. The current education system teaches Samoan populations to be intelligent, diligent, confident learners, and to become greater educators in the future. Yet Samoan student teachers are unconfident to learn under this hybrid education system because its "normalised knowledge and disciplinary power" (Bhabha, 2005, p. 66, cited in Kraidy, 2005) guides how they have to learn and think to acquire the appropriate knowledge and skills needed to survive the globalised world.

1.9 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This is a qualitative research study that adopts standpoint theory to focus on indigenous issues as well as to understand social and cultural phenomena in Samoa. Standpoint theory, in this research, draws on feminists such as Harding (1986; 1991), Hooks (1990), Smith (1987), Hartstock (1983) and Rose (1983). Harding (1986) argues that standpoint provides knowledge that draws on individual experience, is contextual and enables a moral inquiry. Different from Marx's conception of standpoint, the feminist standpoint adopted in this study draws on the individual and the collective socio-cultural and historical experiences of Samoans. As Harding (1991) states, standpoint is "an achievement" where the oppressed achieve a standpoint, a voice to articulate their oppression. Standpoint assists in uncovering the injustices that are present in a dominant system. Adopting a standpoint helps in understanding the dominant, dominated patterns existing within the education system, and illustrates the perspectives of the indigenous people and how they were oppressed by the colonisers. Using standpoint theory provides a space for the Indigenous to voice their concerns, to be heard and recognised in a globalised world. Qualitative research is employed in this study to gain insights into people's attitudes, behaviours, value system, concerns, motivations, aspirations, culture and lifestyles.

The research study is an Indigenous study that requested the participation of Samoan student teachers, Samoan chiefs and educators, in-service teachers and lecturers. The study is also situated in Samoa where strong cultural protocols influence how people behave and communicate. The two indigenous methodologies of *Talanoa* and *Nofo* have been selected in this research study due to their validity with regards to indigenous standpoint. *Talanoa*, as described by Vaioloti (2006), is significant to indigenous 'conversation' or 'talking'. It is very much connected to qualitative research because people are free to share their stories in their own way. *Nofo* is known in Samoa as 'sitting' or 'staying'. It is applicable to a qualitative research study because it requires a length of time to formulate a good relationship between the researcher and participants before the releasing of information by the participants. *Talanoa* and *nofo* have been utilised in a study conducted by three (3) lecturers from the Faculty of Education on 'Principal's Perceptions' (2008), where I was employed as one of the researchers. The research study confirmed that *Talanoa*

and *Nofo* provide more validity and efficiency to data collection, due to their perfect connections to Indigenous ways of communicating on a traditional cultural level.

In order to gain participants' insights into the research issue, qualitative research methods of data collection were used. The Indigenous methodology of *Talanoa* and *Nofo* use specific qualitative research methods of data collection, such as questionnaires, focus group discussions and interviews. These methods of data collection seek to find answers to the following questions:

1. What are Samoan cultural values?
2. How are Samoan cultural values relevant in the current Samoan teacher education?
3. How have colonisation and globalisation influenced Samoan education policy?
4. What is the gap between Samoan policy and what actually occurs in Samoan education in terms of values?

These research questions intend to provide some feedback on whether Samoan cultural values are addressed appropriately in the current teacher education practices. Samoan cultural values, as discussed in this research study, are to be examining whether its current status will still be useful for guiding student teachers' behaviours while learning to acquire western knowledge and skills.

1.10 CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following chapters provide an in depth account of the theories, methodologies and researcher's encounters with participants. The aim in Chapter 2 is to capture the complexities, history and conflict of Samoan cultural values, in relation with the changes and influences that have taken place in different periods. With a core focus on Samoan values, this chapter highlights the activities and events that took place in ancient periods which fashioned and moulded the evolution of Samoan values today. This background will focus on the significance of Samoan values in post-colonisation and verify individual roles towards successful education in the modern world.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of globalisation theory and identifies the main changes that are now evident in Samoa, and their impact upon Samoan values. Additionally, a discussion of post-colonial theory, and its significance to indigenous people living in a globalised world is included. The chapter discusses the collective cultural and social conditions within Samoa from imperialism to colonisation to post-colonisation.

Chapter 4 outlines *Talanoa* and *Nofo* research methodology, an indigenous research method that will explicate the data appropriate for answering the research questions. The section on the research methodology will outline the aims and focus of the study including the method of analysis and how the researcher carried out this research in terms of data collection, data analysis and instruments involved in collecting the data.

Chapter 5 analyses the Samoan education system, as well as the curriculum. It looks at teacher education policies and curriculum and how significant these policies and curriculum are to the operation of teachers college in the post-colonial period. Chapter 5 provides an understanding of the suitability of current policies around values to the improvement of teachers college.

Chapter 6 is an analysis and discussion of interviews and group discussions from six cultural and educational experts in Samoa, in-service teachers and lecturers from the Faculty of Education. The chapter reviews the relevance of Samoan values to Samoan people in general and education. In particular, the participants provide their personal and professional insights to Samoan values in relation to education and Samoan way of life. The aim was to look at Samoan values in the post-colonial era and its utilisation by people in their social and cultural movements.

Chapter 7 is an analysis and discussion of student teachers' responses to the relevance of Samoan values to teacher education practices. The discussion will look into the reaction of student teachers to teacher training and the problems that they may have faced during their schooling. The aim is to see whether these Samoan values will enable the maintenance of a solid benchmark of behaviour for proficient and reliable teacher trainees in teachers college.

Chapter 8 provides a summary, implications and recommendations of the study. It discusses the main ideas of the study in relation to the theory, methodologies, discussions and interviews with participants. Finally, this chapter recognises the limitations of this study and suggests areas for further studies.

1.11 SUMMARY

In examining the effective incorporation of Samoan cultural values alongside present day values, the study proposes and theorises a holistic and meaningful learning context for all teacher trainees and also contributes to the teacher education curriculum and practice within Samoa. This study attempts to re-examine the importance of Samoan values in teacher education. Moreover, it seeks to investigate whether these values are still relevant to provide better guidance for student teachers' training in the Faculty of Education.

Chapter 2: SAMOAN EDUCATION TRANSITION: PRE- MISSIONARY, MISSIONARY, COLONIAL AND POST- COLONIAL ERA

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter sets out the social and cultural context of the study by examining the relevance of Samoan cultural values in teacher education practices. In particular, it examines Samoan cultural values by investigating the attitudes of student teachers. The chapter provides a discussion of values in general, before discussing past and present Samoan values. This is followed with an overview of how Samoan cultural values are displayed in professional behaviours and activities. The chapter also provides a brief history of Samoa's formal education system, beginning with the establishment of formal education in Samoa upon the arrival of the London Missionary Society. The education systems introduced into Samoa by Germany and New Zealand, before Samoan independence, are explained. In keeping with Indigenous standpoint, this chapter focuses on how Samoans teach and learnt in the post-colonial period.

This thesis explores only the educational framework within Samoa (formerly known as Western Samoa). It excludes American Samoa, due to both its governance under the United States of America's system and its historical evolution, which reflect issues that are dissimilar from those addressed in this thesis.

This chapter illustrates and discusses the historical, social and cultural influences that have contributed to the hybrid and heterogeneous educational system in Samoa. It concludes by introducing a diagrammatic overview of Samoan education, noting its historical bases and sources.

Both formal and informal education in Samoa are important aspects of Samoan life. Individuals, the family, village, district, church and government depend on formal education to produce professional economists, educators, medical practitioners, teachers, church ministers, politicians, etc. These professionals operate in a society that blends indigenous Samoan culture and western culture. For this reason, Samoan indigenous educators need to equip learners with the skills and techniques to operate successfully within this hybrid society. It is essential that Samoan educators are well equipped with both indigenous and western ways of learning and teaching to support learners in a post-colonial Samoan society.

The following section discusses the Samoan education system in the post-colonial era. It looks at the current changes in the education system and how Samoans are adjusting to these changes. The chapter also outlines current educational problems such as the lack of resources, teacher shortages, lack of village support, and problems with pre and in-service teacher programs. The chapter concludes with an overview of the colonial and neo-colonial education systems.

2.2 WHAT ARE VALUES?

Before discussing values particular to Samoan society, it is useful to provide an explanation of values in general. Aspin and Chapman (2007) suggests that “values ... are part of the world of human actions and relations” (p. 31). That is, values are styles of living, chosen by people of a society, family or an organisation, to guide their social and cultural everyday living. Values are described by Aspin (2007) as “functioning as the rules, conventions or principles implicit in certain modes of communicating, forms of action and manners of proceeding, that furnish and act as a standard of discrimination” (p. 27). More importantly, values provide meaning to human lives. They are reflected through the social and cultural movements that guide how individuals communicate in their everyday activities.

Gardner (1965) stated that “values are the generalised goals which act as guides to human behaviour. They do not result in action themselves; norms, motivation, and situation are intervening facilities necessary to realise these goals” (p. 47). Thus, values identify individuals in terms of their belonging to a cultural

group. Therefore, a value system sanctions individuals to perform appropriately in particular situations, as well as guides individuals to acquire significant knowledge that is relevant to their cultural and social interests and needs. In addition, “values are the internal beliefs and attitudes held by individuals and groups that are used in responding to every-day events” (MESC 2006, p. 38). MESC interprets values in a practical manner, suggesting they are essential to guide educational programs and students-teachers interaction in school. For this reason, all people situated in a society must have some collective agreement to confirm and stabilise values. In Samoa, like any other society, there has been collective agreement on accepted values. Thaman wrote:

The ideal person in most Pacific cultures was one who knew what to do and did that well. This implied the ability to know one’s relationships to other people and how to nurture these according to cultural norms and expectations. (2004, p. 6)

In Samoa, a family chief is perceived as the authority and is responsible for caring for and protecting their extended relatives. This is a way of life for Samoans and is based on the value system implemented by their ancestors that has been passed from one generation to another (Vaa, 2006). The position of Samoan values in the family creates solidarity among the individuals. Community members are expected to abide by and follow these values. Since these values strengthen the community’s existence and stabilise family ties, the next section discusses Samoan cultural values alongside the social and cultural system in Samoa.

2.3 SAMOAN VALUES

The values discussed in this study, and regarded as Samoan values, are embedded in the local context of Samoa. Afamasaga indicated that Samoan values are important to everyday life, and these are displayed during formal and informal socialisation (personal communication, 2007). I can identify with her view as I have lived with and learnt the same values from my parents and grandparents. The values she mentions are: love (*alofa*); respect (*faaaloalo*)’ sacred relationship (*va tapuia*); mutual respect (*va fealoai*); behaviour accorded to others (*ava fatafata*); obedience (*usitai*); responsibility (*tofiga poo tiute tauave*); reciprocity (*feavatai/fetausiai*);

consultation (*soalaupule*) and collaboration (*galulue faatasi/fesoasoani ai*); identity (*faasinomaga*); good services (*tautua lelei*); and honesty (*fai mea amiotonu*). These values comprise the essence of the Samoan way of life before and after the missionaries arrival. Maiai (1957) has suggested that “politeness and respect for one’s elders are also among the treasured values in Samoan society” (p. 166). Ma’ia’i (1957) states that these are the qualities that the community look for in a well-educated boy or girl (p. 166). It is important for any Samoan boy or girl to maintain appropriate behaviour while they are in the presence of chiefs and adults.

As explained by Silipa (2004), the Samoan way (*fa’asamoa*) is the main influence of social and cultural values in Samoa. Furthermore, Fairbairn-Dunlop (1991) concurs that:

The behaviour valued in the *fa’asamoa* involve knowing one’s place in the system and being able to identify and apply correct behaviours for a specific situation. This has to do with hierarchy and role for social status in a Samoan cultural village. For instance, acting above oneself by showing initiative or originality out of turn; for example is not appropriate behaviour. (p. 298)

The performance of these values in social and cultural activities is a symbol of Samoan identity — it is a Samoan way of life or *fa’asamoa* that a true Samoan must acquire and understand. Significantly, learning and understanding the *faa-Samoa* begins from a very young age, where one learns how to carry oneself as a Samoan. This means knowing how to speak the everyday and *fa’amatai* Samoan language, respecting the elders, knowing ones roots, folding of legs, walking, sitting, and eating with respect.

Faa-Samoa, means the Samoan way. This is all encompassing concept that dictates how Samoans are meant to behave. It refers to the obligations that a Samoan owes their family, community and church and the individuals sense of Samoans identity. The concept of respect is also very important. You must always respect those older than you, such as matais, parents, significant adults and teachers. (Leauga, 2004, p. 1)

Silipa (2004) maintains that the Samoan way is about communal living, where people share their resources. These resources are food, money, fine mats, lands, and houses. In fact, sharing of resources is part of loving and kindness, which are all part of Samoan cultural values that Samoan people usually display and perform during

funerals, weddings, and bestowment of chiefly titles. These Samoans show respect, consensus, collaboration, obedience, reciprocity, and humility. In Samoa, people expect to learn and display these Samoan cultural values in the social structures/institutions of *aiga* (family), village (*nuu*) and church (*lotu*). Samoan people expect to display these Samoan cultural values when performing Samoan rituals, such as *ifoga* (bowing down or an act of submission), which involves showing respect and honour. In Samoa, *ifoga* is only performed when a serious crime is committed by a family member that affects a member of another family. In so doing, the criminal and his family kneel and cover themselves with a fine mat (*ietoga*) in front of the victim's place. This practice usually takes place in the early hours of the morning before dawn. This is known in Samoan culture as *faaleleiga* (reconciliation) (Silipa, 2004, p.18). As explained by Stair (1983):

In the morning we were informed that the chief would make his ifoga on a certain day, which he did, and tendered his fine in expiation of his offence. The chief's ifoga was well received, and the threatened war happily averted. (p. 101)¹

It is impolite in the Samoan cultural context for someone to disrespect their elders and parents. A person with important status in the family, such as the *feagaiga* (covenant — a title to address the pastor in the village) and *matai* (chief) must all be cordially treated with respect and dignity.

The value of love (*alofa*), described in a Samoan context, has to do with kindness (*amio lelei*) and respect (*faaaloalo*) for one another. Silipa (2004) refers to love as “sincere, genuine sharing, or reciprocity, characterised by the offering and exchange of gifts or assistance” (p. 267). Similarly, this kind of love displayed in *faalavelave*², sharing of resources between family members, between village people

¹ J. B. Stair's work was first published in London 1897.

² Faalavelave literally means hindrance or impediment, but Samoans refer to *faalavelave* such as in family funerals, weddings, chiefly bestowment, unveiling, and so forth. The obligations of a Samoan family is to

or assisting strangers who need food and water. That is also known to Samoan people as transcendental love (*o le alofa le faatuaioia*), where there is no boundary or limitation.

The value of responsibility (*tofiga poo tiute tauave*) relates to serving the family, village and church. In Samoa, a family chief (*matai*) is responsible for all the lands and resources belonging to the extended family. In addition, his/her other role is to represent the family in village and district affairs. This was explained by Davidson (1967):

The individual households composing the village community were each headed by a matai, who possessed authority over its members and regulated their activities, whether of agriculture or fishing, or of the reception of guests. Family resources were similarly distributed under his direction. (p. 17)

All other family members are responsible to ensure their family solidarity. That is through sharing their work load and assisting one another in times of hardship. This is usually known in Samoa as working together or collaboration (*galulue faatasi*).

Respect or *fa'aaloalo*, is also related to *va tapuia* (a sacred relationship), *ava fatafata* (behaviour accorded to others) and *va fealoai* (mutual respect). The Samoan way of respect is very crucial in *aiga* (family) and *nuu* (village) where children must know their sacred relationship and show mutual respect to their parents and significant adults as well as to other children. As explained by Davidson:

Samoan society protected self-respect. This is of course, an ideal picture. If the Samoans possessed self-respect, they were also, in Thomas Hobbes's phrase, 'children of pride'. (1967, p. 30)

This entails knowing how to converse with elders by using respectful words and displaying appropriate behaviours. As a result, it is the *tofiga poo tiute tauave* (responsibility) of all individuals to practice respect in their social and cultural

contribute to their *faalavelaves* at any time anywhere in the world where they have immediate or extended relatives.

activities. More importantly in the *fa'asamoa* (Samoan way), family and village members must reciprocate (*feavatai/fetausiai*) with one another. The value of reciprocity has much to offer to protect the value of identity (*fa'asinomaga*) in a Samoan family and village. Davidson (1967) explains:

Socially, each village was defined by its *fa'alupega*, which contained a highly formalised greeting of its principal matai.The possession of such a *fa'alupega* was, in effect, the required demonstration of a particular village's autonomy. It provided a conventionalised record of the village's history, in terms of kinship and social status, and defined the constitution of its *fono*; and it was the pride and duty of the orators to know them for the whole of Samoa. (p. 17)

The value of reciprocity maintains a good family identity. In fact, it relies on collaboration and cooperation amongst family members. For instance, all family members must work together to protect their family chief title, as well as providing good service (*tautua lelei*) to the family chief. In the Samoan culture, family members must display appropriate behaviours at all times while in the presence of family guests and village chiefs.

In a Samoan extended family setting, all family members are expected to assist their family chiefs with decision-making. The value of consultation is mainly to do with sharing workloads. As indicated by Davidson (1967):

The individual households composing the village community were each headed by a matai, who possessed authority over its members and regulated their activities, whether agriculture or fishing, or of the reception of guests. Family resources were similarly distributed under his direction. (p. 17)

A family *matai* is a Samoan way of maintaining the family together. The value of honesty (*fai mea amiotonu*) contributes to protecting the family identity. For this reason, a Samoan person must serve others with dignity and honesty, and that is to win the trust of others. In the end, the family continues to maintain its good name and identity when all members acquire the values of reciprocity, good services, consultation and honesty. These values were mainly utilised during pre-missionary times, while Samoans were going about with their everyday duties.

These values will be discussed alongside the history of education in Samoa during the pre-missionary period. The discussion in the next section will concentrate on Samoan people's social and cultural movements in their homogeneous society.

2.4 BRIEF HISTORY OF SAMOAN EDUCATION

2.4.1 Samoa before 1830

There are many different stories told about Samoan history before 1830 as recorded by historians (Davidson, 1967; Masterman, 1958; Meleisea, 1987) that are based on European settlers and missionaries' records. These stories focused on wars, kinship, village and family organisation. These stories identified how Samoans were living many years ago during pre-missionary period. As suggested by Masterman (1958), "Many of these stories explain things that we know exist today such as how certain titles arose, how Upolu formed political divisions, why certain places received their names" (p. 9). From within these stories we learn to understand Samoan lifestyles, in the family, village, district and the whole of Samoa in the pre-missionary period. For instance, a story of a great Samoan Queen by the name Salamasina tells of her love and kindness to her people. Masterman (1958), recorded Salamasina's reign "in the sixteenth century at the time when the first Europeans were making their way in their little sailing boats" (p. 12) across Samoa. According to Masterman (1958), "Salamasina must have been a good Queen dealing fairly and wisely with her people for she seems to have been well loved and many stories are told about her" (p. 12). It was this kind of story that suggested the kind of life the people had before missionaries and Europeans arrived in Samoa. Traditional life, as described by historians such as Davidson (1967), Masterman (1958) and Meleisea (1987) contributed to the development of Samoan cultural ways of learning before the arrival of missionaries in Samoa.

It was important in Samoan village and home life for young Samoans to engage the values of respect, obedience, collaboration and love. They needed to learn how to participate and observe adult responsibilities in village gatherings, and to assist adults with chores while in a village meeting. For example, children learned from male and female adults how to serve high chiefs and chief orators of the village during meetings. This enabled young men and women to work cooperatively and to

understand one another. So individuals were educated through their primary socialisation with elders and village life. Individuals' learning processes in pre-missionary times were more to do with their everyday social and cultural activities than structured schools. Learning concentrated on the relationship between the chief (*matai*) and people without chiefly titles. This kind of relationship forms the origin of many Samoan cultural values in the pre-missionary period.

Learning in the pre-missionary period also meant acquiring new skills. Samoan family members were involved with building canoes and guest houses, while some were involved in civil wars. Their other lifelong skill of surviving was fishing the ocean for food, as well as hunting the wilderness. As suggested by Maiai (1957):

The teaching of skills such as house-building, canoe making etc., were usually done through less developed form of guilds. The method used were observation and participation not so very different from the principle of apprenticeship today. (p. 167)

Samoan cultural values, as recorded by Maiai (1957), Davidson (1970), Meleisea (1987) and Tofaeono (2000) were taught to Samoans through participation and observation. Tofaeono (2000) stated “the sum total of ways of living were built up by a human community and transmitted from one generation to another” (p. 28).

Samoan cultural values were crucial for social and cultural activities in the pre-missionary period. Life at that time was governed by a set of rules and regulations that influenced individuals living situations. Gardner (1965) states that “Culture appears to be continuous and transmitted from generation to generation. Since people hold the knowledge of their culture, it must be true that they transmit their cultural values to the new members who are raised in the culture” (p. 1). The young and old males were identified as *taulelea* or *aumaga* (untitled men). The village also relied on them for their strength to carry out most demanding tasks. According to Gardner (1965), “The men’s group, the *aumaga* or *taulealea* is the work force of the village with established rights and a council of its own, whose function it is to serve the village and particularly to carry out village plans made by the *fono* (meeting)” (p. 39). In fact, the purpose of these village groups was to prepare and educate the young males and females to take up adult responsibilities when the time was right. Young

people, as they approach maturity, began to affiliate with their gender groups; Maiai (1957) states, "... the child's contacts ... involved being initiated into different groups" (p. 166) such as the *taulealea* and *auluma*. Such affiliation led to informal education and the idea was to create a closer relationship between men and women and their social and physical environment. In pre-missionary times, young people tended to observe their parents and elders while they were performing their duties. This type of learning is mainly known as informal learning, where people are free to choose their time and place to learn and to instruct. Moreover, individual learners were also sharing ideas and knowledge on how to conduct an activity. When they reach maturity, these children would then take over adults' responsibilities. The knowledge and skills that they learned from observing their parents and elders would also be passed down to the generations after them.

This was elaborated by Maiai (1957) in relation to the historical context of Samoan children's education, which is part of the informal education that was usually practiced in the home. As it is stated by Maiai (1957), "...a Samoan child's education was carried out in the home through the help of parents and immediate family members, such as children's upbringing based on the ethos of the people" (p. 166). Furthermore, Maiai, (1957) has indicated that this kind of children's home learning was expressed in the:

Myths and legends, in proverbial sayings, in the songs and dances in the reverential restraints and taboos, in parental and social comments in the action of children. (p. 166)

Samoan myths and legends were used by parents and grandparents as bed time stories for children. All these myths and legends were part of life that generated some useful lessons and values for the young to carry forward (Tanielu, 2000, p. 54). For instance, a child who is displaying disrespectful behaviours will be considered as a child who has not been taught properly by his/her father and mother (*e lei aoaia e lona tama ma lona tina*). This follows another Samoan saying: a human child is fed with words and stories, and a bird's offspring is fed with fruits of trees (*o le tama a le tagata e fafaga i upu ma tala, ae o le tama a le manu e fafaga i fuga o laau*). Children were expected to assist their parents, significant adults and elders in everyday activities. The child's role was to observe and learn from listening and

hands on practice as they carried out their duties in the home. The expectation was for the children to gradually grasp the type of skills and techniques required for particular chores. As elaborated by Maiai (1957):

The informal setting of this type of education and the fact that the teachers are the parents and the adult members of the extended family make this aspect of education to the casual observer a mere necessity for harmonious living in a larger family. (p. 166)

Family was an important agent of socialisation and elders were good role models in Samoan culture. People believed that an elder's authority was a good way to guide children to acquire appropriate cultural values. This belief was carried forward after the arrival of missionaries in Samoa. Missionaries were relying on the elders and high chiefs of different districts to protect their mission in Samoa. The next section focuses on missionary influence on Samoa.

2.4.2 Missionary education in Samoa

The arrival of Christian missionaries in 1830 from the London Missionary Society (LMS) in Great Britain transformed Samoan ways of living. This was the beginning of the gradual change from a homogeneous to a heterogeneous way of life. The introduction of European ways of living was overwhelming. This included "learning the usefulness of European goods in terms of wearing clothes on Sundays, and hats and umbrellas" (Masterman, 1958, p. 23). The blending and mixing of cultural values, beliefs and ideas brought major change for all Samoans. The social cultural, religious and political life for all Samoans changed.

The first missionary group, of the three major denominations to arrive, was the LMS led by John Williams in 1830 at the village of Sapapalii. This was followed by the Methodist missionaries in 1835 at Manono and the Catholic Church at Falealupo in 1845 (Masterman, 1958, p. 22). Despite missionary arrival, wars were still raging between high chiefs and their districts. As described by Masterman (1958):

To Williams it seemed a God-sent opportunity to teach this king the ways of Christianity and the gospel of peace and good will. With the coming of John Williams the old ways changed. Wars did not stop, neither did intrigues. (p. 14)

The most crucial priority for all missionaries in Samoa was to change the *heathen ways* of the people. Although, the whole population did not change all at one time, eventually, people were able to assimilate after many attempts by missionaries. However, it was recorded by historians that those who found it hard to adapt to missionary ways in most areas were high chiefs of villages. The teaching of the Bible and living hygienically were also missionaries goals. John Williams in 1832 brought interpreters from Rarotonga and Tahiti (Meleisea, 1987, p.58). The interpreters helped John Williams to reach the people, as well as to direct the missionary to the high chief of Samoa, Malietoa in the village of Sapapalii (Meleisea, 1987). After Malietoa had accepted John Williams and the LMS (London Missionary Society), the LMS set out to develop their religious denomination (LMS) around Samoa.

The other aim of the missions was to educate Samoans to comprehend reading, speaking and writing in their own language. An additional aim was to teach them to understand the basic English language in reading, writing and speaking for communication. Between 1834 and 1839, the first ‘Samoan Dictionary and Grammar’ was printed by George Pratt; this has contributed to the learning of the Samoan language by the missionaries, as well as assisted Samoans to write and read in their own language (Meleisea, 1987, p. 58). This was followed by the translation of the Bible into Samoan, before the establishment of the first printing press in 1939 (Meleisea, 1987, p. 58). At the same time, missionaries also recorded indigenous behaviours and attitudes, socialisation, and cultural activities. Missionaries intended to transform Samoan ways:

Samoans worked very hard at times of planting and harvesting, but there were also times when there was plenty of leisure. The missionaries wanted to make Samoans more industrious. (Meleisea, 1987, p. 67)

The missionaries’ ideals originated from middle class England. Therefore, they imposed the idea that the man was expected to be the only breadwinner in Samoan families. This idea demolished the extended family setting in Samoa. This was one of the many changes missionaries brought to Samoans, which created the tensions and conflicts between Samoans and missionaries (Meleisea, 1987, p. 68). It is clear that “English missionaries felt that English ways were superior to those of the Samoans”

(Meleisea, 1987, p. 68). Not surprisingly, this assumption was not easily accepted by all Samoans. However, in the end, all Samoans eventually and gradually assimilated to the new ways of living.

Samoans were required by missionaries to restructure their old beliefs in order to adjust to their new life. For instance, every man was only allowed one wife. The new Christian belief system changed lifestyles, ways of worshipping and banned polygamy. Wars between districts complicated the missionaries' work. Masterman (1958) states that "sometimes there were wars, missionaries were often lonely and discouraged" (p. 21). This delayed the spreading of God's word around Samoa.

In 1844, a training college belonging to LMS for pastors was established at Malua. Later on, more schools for boys and girls were developed at Leulumoega and Papauta. Learning the Bible became popular for young men who were trained to become pastors. Young women were trained to become pastors' wives. The focus of the missionaries was for Samoans to be fully equipped with the knowledge of the Bible that could enable them to deliver God's message across the nation (Meleisea, 1987). The values, beliefs and ideas of the British class system began to flourish on the island. That is, traditional cultural values were slowly sidelined, and gradually replaced by this new form of class-based lifestyle.

Cultural and social activities that were the core of Samoan society during pre-missionary were now changed. Cannibalism and warfare diminished along with many other practices. Missionaries altered many parts of the Samoan culture. However many values and practices have survived. For instance, in Samoan villages today, everyone is acknowledged. Missionaries admired some of Samoa's cultural ways of living. For instance, they witnessed strangers walking through a village and being welcomed with hospitality as they passed by people's houses. The polite expressions in word and deed as the basis of a peaceful and dignified life were admired by missionaries. Thus, some Samoan cultural and social ways of living were reframed to assimilate with the new Christian beliefs, ideas and values.

Missionaries introduced education to Samoans after 1830 (Meleisea, 1987). The aim was to educate Samoans through Christianising their way of life—including

some aspects of social and cultural ways of living. As indicated by Meleisea (1987), “Education was a major programme of the mission. The missionaries began training and placing pastors in schools in and around Samoa” (p. 59). The Congregation Christian Church of Samoa (CCCS, formerly LMS) and Methodist and Catholic churches were the three main biggest denominations in Samoa. However, the CCCS and Methodist churches were the only two denominations with pastors’ schools. These denominations all have Samoan pastors and wives in each village with their pastors’ school. According to Meleisea, (1987) “the pastors and their wives ran schools for both children and adults in villages throughout the nineteenth century and, up until the 1950s, most Samoans were educated by village pastors” (p. 59). In these pastoral schools, boys and girls were all trained to acquire western skills and knowledge brought by missionaries. The aim was for Samoans to assimilate and be able to mimic missionaries’ ways of living, as well as embracing their Christian faith.

The presence of missionaries in Samoa from 1830 onwards was very important to the whole nation. Although changes made by missionaries were not easily accepted by Samoans, Samoans respect for their new God made missionaries work easy. For instance, after the establishment of churches in each village, the church was then provided with a pastor and his wife. This was followed by the bestowment of another important title to the village pastors by villages, which was called the *‘feagaiga’* (covenant). This term symbolises the relationship between the brother and sister in the Samoan culture. In a Samoan family, a sister was an important person and every brother must serve her, which allowed her to be free from all the chores around the house. The brother does the cleaning and cooking, while the sister sits, eats and sleeps. The sister–brother relationship in Samoan culture was known as *o le io I mata o le tama lona tuafafine*—a pupil of the brother’s eye was his sister. The term *Feagaiga* is now used to address *Faifeau* (pastor) in the village, and the villages are responsible to feed, provide money, protect and provide accommodation for the pastor. This was similar to the relationship between the brother and sister in ancient Samoa, and it is still happening in far less obvious ways. The next section discusses the influences of colonisation on Samoa’s education, social and cultural activities.

2.4.3 Colonial education

German administration

The German Administration was the first imperial power to colonise Samoa. The Germans landed in Samoa in 1900 and remained until Germany lost the First World War in 1914. New rules and regulations were introduced that had to be adopted by Samoans in order to align with the political interests and needs of the German Administration. Germany also began to dictate to Samoans about their kingship lineage. Meleisea (1987, p. 111), points out that after 1900, Germany appointed Solf as the Governor in Samoa. His Administration instructed Samoans, that “there was to be no *Tupu Samoa* (Samoa king) only *Alii Sili* or paramount chief”. Solf then chose Mataafa for an high chief (*Alii Sili*) in Samoa. This was the first time a foreigner used an imperial power to make decisions on critical matters pertaining only to Samoans, such as selecting the King of Samoa. When Samoans gathered to celebrate the new high chief, both foreigners and Samoans were present. In the past, only “Samoans were permitted to select a paramount chief” (p. 113).

As German imperial power in Samoa grew, it began to create conflicts with locals. Meleisea (1987) explained that Solf firmly indicated to Samoans “that he alone had final authority in any matter that he chose to be involved in” (p. 113). Unfortunately, the Germans did not have many plans for better education in Samoa. From 1900 onwards, Germans had given full running of education to missionaries. As explained by Tanielu (2004), Germans had built only a few schools in Apia for their children, and “allowed the missionaries to carry on with their English instruction” (p. 7). This arrangement by Germans introduced unfair treatment of the natives from the half-caste and full Germans. As indicated by Meleisea (1987), “this classification created an artificial barrier between children of mixed marriages and their maternal relatives” (p. 116). In the end, more educational opportunities were given to children from mixed marriages while full Samoan children were ignored. This was explained by Tanielu (2004), who stated that “the Germans showed very little interest in educating the Samoans. The maintenance of the status quo in education by the provision of a limited education to primary schooling offered by the

missions...” (p. 66). However, the Germans’ intentions for Samoan education changed in 1908, “when a school was established at Malifa for Samoan boys and girls” (Maiai, 1957, p. 170). This was followed by a boarding school for boys in 1909 at Malifa, after a request from “*matai* that some of their older sons should obtain knowledge of the German language in order for them to become government officials” (Coxon, 1996, p. 176). Although attention was paid to educating Samoans, the education of Samoan people was not the Germans’ first priority. Rather, their priority was to ensure that their political and economic interests and needs were met. For instance, “the plantations of the German company were famous in the Pacific. Hundreds of acres which had been forest were now planted in coconuts and cocoa”(Masterman, 1958, p. 42). Ultimately, most German development in Samoa during their colonial power was demolished by New Zealand after the First World War.

New Zealand administration

New Zealand arrived on 29 August 1914 as the new imperial power in Samoa (Masterman, 1958). Many developments by the Germans were replaced by the New Zealand administration from 1914–1962. For instance, the establishment of Deutsche Handels and Plantagen Gesellschaft (DPHG), a German plantation company was taken over by New Zealand and renamed New Zealand Reparation Estates (Meleisea, 1987, p. 132). New Zealand maintained “the political organisation set up by the Germans” (Meleisea, 1987, p. 128), including the laws and policies.

In particular, education was one focus of the New Zealand administration. This administration’s focus was to educate people to be more self-reliant and independent thinkers and creative workers. New Zealand adopted the Germans’ idea of using the missionaries to assist with education. This was not an easy task to manage. Therefore, from 1914 onwards, the New Zealand Administration, under Richardson’s ruling, “intended to concentrate on co-operation with the mission” (Davidson, 1967, p. 104). As explained by Tanielu (2004, p. 291), the New Zealand Administration paid the missions 500 pounds to take full responsibility of educating the natives.

It was during New Zealand's (NZ) administration in Samoa that Samoans began to realise the importance of education. In 1923, the New Zealand administration made a promise to improve education for the natives. In so doing, Richardson (NZ administrator) announced that "the education of the Natives harmonises with their surroundings and future requirements so as to maintain their happiness and contentment" (Davidson, 1967, p.104). It was this promise that encouraged Samoans to push their children to do well in school. However, in the same year, 1923, the Acting Secretary for External Affairs, Mr Caughley, after his return to New Zealand, reported:

During my malaga around Upolu and Savaii I gave careful consideration to the important question of education. I learned that the Samoan boy who received a good education at the Government school and had learned English, was no longer happy and contented to remain in his village plantation, but that he desired to go to Apia to seek other employment. I therefore see a danger in attempting to increase the number of government schools and to educate large numbers of the natives in English. (cited by Fanaafi Maiai, 1957, p. 188)

The willingness of Samoan people to acquire European knowledge and skills become a competition among the natives. However, Mr Caughley's educational plan for Samoans in 1923 was not to encourage Samoans to be well educated, but to ensure that the number of natives acquiring western education should be minimised. The richness of western ways of life that formal education can offer has driven many people away from the rural areas, so that their families can live a better life. In order to do well, many were required to live away from their parents so that they could attend schools in Apia. In Apia, most teachers were European and the language of instruction was mainly English. Mackay, the Apia school administrator in 1940, stated that:

English was taught not for its own sake, but as a necessary fitting of the mind to a way of thought which is foreign to the Samoan way of thought. (cited by Maiai, 1957, p. 297)

The concern raised by Mackay was concerned that English would be seen as a way of distancing students from native life rather than being viewed as an essential

part of being able to fit with a foreign life. Furthermore, the teaching of English was foreign to Samoans, and it contradicted with the Samoan way of thought.

Western education was further encouraged in 1941 when New Zealand decided to send the “ablest Samoan children to New Zealand for further education” (Davidson, 1967, p. 159). Western education in Samoa in terms of curriculum and policies continued to improve in 1949, when Beeby, the Director General of New Zealand Schools, reported on the low standard of education for Samoan natives (Tanielu, 2004, p. 73). The report by Beeby indicated that “very few had reached a New Zealand standard six level of attainment and many had not progressed beyond a standard three level” (Beeby in Tanielu, 2004, p. 74). This report revealed that western education standards in Samoa at the time were not high. It showed that the education curriculum and syllabus was inadequate. It was later argued by Beeby in his same educational report that New Zealand should not limit who was to be educated. In fact, all Samoans should be given a fair share of western education if Samoa was to head towards self-government.

I do not think the situation can be met by a proportion of the remainder totally uneducated. If there is to be stability in any form of government for Samoa there must not be too big a gap between the leaders and the led. Moreover, without a foundation of universal schooling it is impossible to find out who are the really bright children to be selected for further education. (cited by Maiai, 1957, p. 366)

It was after Beeby’s report that New Zealand began to take action by upgrading education in Samoa. Improving educational standards was a positive step for Samoans moving towards becoming independent. The raising of educational standards in Samoa meant Samoans had the opportunity to learn to think, speak, and write like their western counterparts.

Neo-colonial education

In 1962, New Zealand finally handed Samoa its independence, making Samoa the first independent (post-colonial) country in the South Pacific. The beginning of Samoa’s new government, was established under *Faavae I le Atua Samoa*—God is

the Foundation of Samoa. Samoan culture played a significant role in the new government, since the culture had been Christianised and 'civilised'. Therefore the Samoan culture, Christianity and western ideas were utilised to operate a new, modern, Samoan government.

The *fa'asamoa* (Samoan ways) mainly reflects sharing of duties and information in daily activities. According to Vaa (2001), "The *fa'asamoa* emphasises collective responsibility" (p. 254). As adults, Samoans in their social activities, always aim to educate children to acquire the appropriate skills necessary to carry out the cultural expectations of Samoan society. For instance, children are expected to serve parents, brothers, sisters and extended families. As children mature, they take on the role of head of the family, and use the knowledge from their previous experiences to care for their own families. Gardner insightfully observes:

The relationship of the child to his parents is overshadowed by his relationship to the matai and his wife. The wife of the matai is important as an instructor in etiquette or respect behavior. She tends to obscure the relationship to the real mother. It is she who gives the order to the children, and she punishes if they are not carried out, though the mother or other younger relative does this equally to them. (1965, p. 36)

The values learned by children and young adults who resided with *matais* were respect, obedience, reciprocity, honesty and responsibility. While living in the house of the chief, children and young adults were expected to be alert at all times. Young adults and children who are appraised by a *matai* for their good services are usually the ones who have performed their duties successfully as measured by the Samoan values indicated. Moreover, children learned other significant cultural activities that were useful for their learning, mainly in times of funerals, weddings and ceremonial exchange.

Today, Samoans have adopted many different western ways of operating in life, such as higher education, living in luxury and speaking foreign languages such as English. This new western lifestyle in Samoa exists alongside Samoan cultural ways of living. That is, people are exercising a hybrid social, cultural and political life in an indigenous environment. Moreover, the impact of missionary and colonial

regime in Samoa has influenced how people organise and operate their everyday socialisation in hybrid ways. However, this hybrid Samoan way of living in the rural villages dominates the Samoan cultural ways of living. For instance, all villages in the rural areas operate their village affairs based on Samoan cultural protocols, which are dissimilar to those in the urban areas. Western influences have existed since Samoa's was colonised in the nineteenth century. Although independent since 1962, the western educational system continues to influence the educational organisation of Samoa (Meleisea, 1987). Maiai (1957) stated that "today the New Zealand syllabus is still used as the model but greater efforts are being made to adapt it to suit local conditions" (p. 342). Most of the people who develop the curriculum in Samoa are education professionals from New Zealand and Australia. Therefore, the western educational contribution—particularly in the areas of psychology, sociology, anthropology and education—remains common throughout Samoa. However, as a result of such practice, foreign professional knowledge about suitable education only reflects understanding of foreign interests, needs and the wants. The system is based on what foreigners think is best for Samoa (Shankman, 1993). Therefore, western educational ideas of a suitable education system in Samoa originate from educational ideas that have already been tested in western societies, and are likely to be inappropriate in the context of learning in Samoa. As this snapshot illustrates, much of the formal 'western' system of education came to Samoa with missionaries and colonists. The impact of colonialism on the Samoan education system will be discussed next.

Post-colonial education in the Pacific and Samoa

Post-colonial education in Samoa looks at restructuring the goals and aims of education to coincide with Indigenous cultural values and knowledge. Debate around the South Pacific educational arena has been led by Pacific academics, such as Konai Helu Thaman, Ana Taufe'ulungaki and Kapini Sanga. These academics have joined forces to push for educational development throughout South Pacific countries. For instance, Konai Helu Thaman (2002, p. 22) has argued that "Educational officials, principals, teachers, students and, in some countries, parents and guardians regularly

expressed their ideas about learning, knowledge, teaching, assessing etc. in a language that is foreign to them”.

Ana Taufe’ulungaki (2002) echoes Thaman (2002), stating that the Pacific region today takes its educational meaning from western educational ideology, which contradicts its own indigenous educational ideologies. According to Taufe’ulungaki (2002), “Pacific traditional education is also worthwhile learning, it is largely informal, contextualised, task-specific, practical, interactive, interpersonal and life-long” (p. 5). Sanga (2002) states that formal “Education in the Pacific was introduced to the various island groups by Christian missionaries and, later, by colonial governments” (p. 52). This type of education was dominant and constructed under the stern authority of the missionaries and colonial powers that had been in the Pacific since the beginning of formal education. In addition, Sanga (2002) adds that the “purpose of education for many Pacific island countries was to give basic writing, reading and arithmetic skills to a few who were to work in the local colonial service” (p.52). It was thought by Pacific educators that it was in the best interests of any Pacific country to strive to be formally educated and accommodate the western system in order to meet the rigid established standards of the western world. Therefore, the goals and aims of formal education from the beginning were for the natives to learn and adapt to western ways of learning.

For Thaman (2002), formal education is the most problematic form of education for Pacific peoples. Formal education is not a problem per se, but most Pacific people find it very difficult to adjust to the settings of a formal education system. Difficulties presented by formal education include the linguistic medium of instruction (English), as well as content knowledge within the subjects. Further, Taufe’ulungaki (2002) argues that education in the Pacific region today derives its meaning from western culture and is usually different from the traditional meaning of education among cultures and communities of the Pacific region.

These concerns raised by Pacific academics indicate the difficulties some Pacific island learners are going through, due to the constant change in education systems. These changes include Pacific Island countries educational reforms, when

changes occur in the policies with the curriculum and the school syllabus. This is an educational problem that is confronted by many Samoan student teachers in the Faculty of Education. Such problems derive from new educational materials and resources introduced into the system that are unfamiliar to Samoan children. This usually happens because most Samoans have limited contact with the outside world.

In recent years, re-thinking education in Samoa and other Pacific Island nations has become a major concern. Indigenous academics (Sanga, 2002; Taufe'ulungaki, 2002; Thaman, 2002) have taken their own standpoint and placed it at the centre of the post-colonial educational debate. The mandate of these academics is to prepare future generations to adapt to change, while at the same time safeguarding indigenous values, beliefs and ideas about learning and knowing. In particular, a move by Samoans and the wider Pacific Islander community towards recognition of the vital elements of their cultural values within educational development. Further, a shift away from colonisation and into a post-colonial education system accentuates the cultures of individuals in their own educational choices. Indigenous people now have more opportunities to raise their educational concerns through a post-colonial space as they are able to integrate cultural values with the current education system

Current educational problems in post-colonial Samoa

This section discusses the current educational problems hindering the educational development in Samoa. Most of the educational problems discussed here tend to indicate cultural conflicts between Samoan cultural values and new educational ideas introduced by Western societies (pre-Independent ruling) into Samoa. The cultural interests and needs of these countries have now been implemented into the Samoan education system actually dominate the organisation and operation of the Samoan education system. These values, beliefs and ideas are totally different from Samoan values, beliefs and ideas. I begin with the current educational situation as specifically outlined by the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture's Strategic Policies and Plan for July 2006–June 2015. However, only some common educational problems related to the slow progress of education in Samoa is going to be examined closely. I begin by tracing the current issues facing education in all sectors to highlight the significance of this study.

First, Early Childhood Education (ECE) faces a lack of resources and financial support in all areas. That is due to the lack of support from government which led to the slow development of ECE in all parts of Samoa. This was documented by MESC policy and strategic plan 2006, that “funding to support ECE initiatives and development is a concern” (MESC, 2006, p. 19). Instead, the government has granted village communities, churches and other small organisations the freedom to establish their own ECE programs under government educational guidelines. However, most of these ECE centres, as stated by the MESC (2006), did not “meet the approval minimum requirements” (p. 19). For example, there is an “inadequate supply of ECE teachers” (MESC, 2006, p. 19) to all ECE centres. Therefore, most ECE centres in Samoa were taught by unqualified teachers. These were some problems faced by ECE in Samoa that contribute to the slow development of Early Childhood Education.

Another major setback confronting the Ministry of Education is the shortage of teachers in primary and secondary schools. Recently, the Human Development Report (2006) indicated numerous factors that impacted on teacher supply. These factors were mainly the “school population, annual retirements, resignations and dismissals, study leave, maternity leave and long service leave” (Human Development Report, 2006, p. 95). These factors contributed to the problem of teacher shortage in Samoa. According to Afamasaga (2006), “the impact of teacher shortage in the schools thoroughly undermines quality in education” (p. 96). This was justified by an article on Education for All by MESC (2007), which revealed that most Special Needs Education (SNE) teachers were “reallocated to regular class duties” due to teacher shortage (p. 61). In 2010, MESC provided another indication of teacher shortage, where the number of students escalated, while there is a decline in the number of teachers. This is shown in table 2.1, where the changes in primary school student-teacher ratio between the years of 2004 to 2010 are indicated. In 2010, 57 primary schools were above National Standard ratios (1:30), while only 85 primary schools met National Standard ratios. The high enrolment of primary students, shown in table 2.1, seems to impact on the quality of students’ learning in schools.

Table 2.1
Number of Government Schools that are meeting the National Standards for Primary Students

Year	No. of primary schools meeting National Standard Ratios (1:30)	No. of primary schools above National Standard Ratios (1:30)	% of primary schools meeting National Standard Ratios (1:30)
2004	82	59	58
2005	73	68	52
2006	72	69	51
2007	80	61	57
2008	83	57	59
2009	88	52	63
2010	85	57	60

Source: MESC Statistical Digest (2010) Samoa

Table 2.2 of secondary schools between 2004 and 2010 shows a slight change in student-teacher ratio. For instance, in 2004, only 8 secondary schools had an above National standard ratio of 1:20. This number increased to 12 in 2010, when there was a high intake of students with fewer teachers in the field. As indicated by table 2.3 and 2.4, there were 1359 primary and 742 secondary students in Samoa at the time. This indicates that there are still overcrowded classrooms in Samoa due to teacher shortages, resulting in less chance for students to acquire higher academic achievement.

Table 2.2
Number of Government Schools that are meeting the National Standards for Secondary Students

Year	No. of secondary schools meeting National Standard Ratios (1:20)	No. of secondary schools above National Standard Ratios (1:30)	% of secondary schools meeting National Standard Ratios (1:30)
2004	17	6	68
2005	16	9	64
2006	13	12	52
2007	13	12	52
2008	16	8	67
2009	12	12	50
2010	12	12	50

Source: MESC Statistical Digest (2010) Samoa

Table 2.3
Number of teachers in all schools in Samoa, 2010

	Government	Mission	Private	Total
Primary	1129	155	111	1395
Secondary	477			

Source: MESC Statistical Digest (2010) Samoa

Table 2.4
Number of students in all schools in Samoa, 2010

Type of School	Government	Mission	Private	Total
Primary	33980	5025	1804	40809
Secondary	9690	6161	418	16269

Source: MESC Statistical Digest (2010) Samoa

Other additional problems in secondary education, as stated by the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture Strategic Policies and Plan, relate to “specialised subject areas such as Mathematics, Science, Agricultural Science and other vocational subjects remains a concern” (MESC, 2006, p. 21). These subject areas are not properly taught because there are a small number of teachers majoring in these specific areas.

Another problem is poor communication between Post-school Education and Training (PSET), and secondary schools. Students are ill-informed of the programs offered in PSET³. This usually happens with students in the Faculty of Education, where most have very limited knowledge of the education courses available. This is due to the lack of marketing of the courses available in the Faculty of Education. However, this does not affect the high number of students who enter the National University of Samoa every year. Table 2.5 indicates that, in 2005, of the 825 students

³ This information was gathered from my personal communication with first year students who have enrolled for the National University of Samoa Foundation year programme in the last 10 years of lecturing at the Faculty of Education. Many students complained about their unfamiliarity with education courses.

enrolled in the National University of Samoa, 444 were completing programs at the Institute of Higher Education and 381 were completing programs at the Institute of Technology. This number increased dramatically in 2010, where IHE and IOT both have a total number of 1177 students in their programs. This indicates that higher education qualifications are becoming a major need for most students and their families in Samoa.

Table 2.5
Students Commencing First Year of Tertiary Studies

Year	Institute of Higher Education	Institute of Technology	Total
2005	444	381	825
2006	557	353	910
2007	529	384	913
2008	456	438	894
2009	442	308	750
2010	701	476	1177

Source: MESC Statistical Digest (2010) Samoa

Although the cost of education in Samoa continues to rise, it did not stop many students from getting a higher education. Samoan tertiary students are facing financial problems due to the steep increase in tertiary education fees. Most parents fund their children's education. However, other NUS students, such as student teachers in the Faculty of Education are funded by the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (MESC). Table 2.6 shows an annual grant that the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture has paid for FoE student teachers in NUS. In 2003-2004, 275,868tala was paid to NUS by MESC for all sponsored student teachers. The amount indicated in the table increases to 375,000tala in 2004-2005 and 850,000tala in 2006-2007. The table mirrors the increasing number of students enrolled in the Faculty of Education between 2003 and 2007. The idea behind this government initiative is to encourage any Samoan citizen to take up teaching as a profession. This could be viewed as a possible solution to teacher shortage.

Table 2.6
Government Expenditure on sponsoring to the FoE at NUS

Financial Year	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06	2006/07
Expenditure on	275, 868	375,000	845, 388	850, 000

Source: MESC Educational For All (2007) Samoa

However, “good quality higher education provision is limited by the level of resources, both human and financial” (MESC, 2006, p. 25). Regrettably, the government does not offer student loan schemes to enable tertiary students to further their studies. This has created another barrier to tertiary education in Samoa and parents are hesitant or less inclined to send their children to universities.

Technical and vocational education (TVE) has less access to resources and funding. Cost and maintenance have proven to be problematic in sustaining and running these programs. Moreover, the lack of resources and facilities to accommodate each program continues to hinder progress. For instance, teaching and learning materials are not being properly looked after due to poor maintenance in schools. Moreover, some schools do not have all the required materials for teaching and learning. As indicated by table 2.7, there are limited facilities in government schools in 2010 compared to the large number of students who are enrolled in both primary and secondary. For instance, there are more students but lesser classrooms, desks, chairs and other facilities/resources for adequately supported learning to take place. There were 39,776 students enrolled in all government primary and secondary schools in 2010. However, chairs were only available for 29,804 students. In fact, 31,721 students were able to have desks compared to 39,776 students enrolled in both primary and secondary government schools. This confirms that the quality of learning and teaching is inadequate due to poor resources and materials.

Table 2.7

All primary and secondary schools facilities by Controlling Authority, 2010

Controlling Authority	Enrolment	Classrooms	Std Desks	Std Chairs	Comp	TV	Phn	Photo/copy
All Schools	39776	1527	31721	298094	357	36	78	73

Source: MESC Statistical Digest (2010) Samoa

In addition, teacher education needs good quality in-service training programs. These programs must be effective, creative, and well-resourced to equip teacher trainees to be trained to be high-quality teachers. Improvements should be based on the “processes of programme planning, design, implementation and review so that they comply with established standards” (MESC, 2006, p. 26). To this end, the University of the South Pacific (USP) and the National University of Samoa (NUS) both provided “formal qualifications as well as in-service training” (Technical Assistance National Teacher Development Framework Final TA Report (*TANTDF*), 2008, p. 27). The NUS is currently working closely with MESC creating opportunities for in-service teachers to return for further education. These returning teachers were mainly enrolled in Bachelor of Education programs or pursuing Bachelor of Arts, Science or Commerce degrees. These in-service teachers were also encouraged to return for higher qualifications to be able to deal with ongoing changes with technology and information. It is also important that there should be a clear link between pre-service and in-service training in order to maintain consistency and professionalism in teaching (MESC, 2006, p. 26).

Teaching services also require “teacher support systems in place to ensure continuous professional development of teachers and improvement in their conditions of work” (MESC, 2006, p. 45). In addition, a high rate of teacher attrition in the service also leaves an indelible mark on the teaching profession. This is indicated by the student teacher ratio in 2010, whereby about 40% of primary teachers and 50% of secondary teachers left in 2010 that meet teacher student standard ratio in Samoa (refer to table 2.1 and 2.2). As a result, it has created more complications regarding students’ performance in school and problems for teachers who are teaching two to three classes in one school.⁴

The hardship experienced by many Samoan families in rural and urban areas also impacts upon education outcomes. This has been shown that the 2006 census indicates that many school-aged children aged 15 and over were employed.. The

⁴ This information was collected from my observation during a collaborative MESC and NUS research project I was involved with in 2007, where a government primary schools had one teacher for two different levels (level 7 and 8).

2006 census revealed that 48% had paid jobs, and 23% were self-employed. The other 29% of un-paid workers were mainly those who have assisted their families in plantation, farming, fishing, crafting, weaving, carpentry or in a family business (Samoa Census and Housing Report, 2006, p. 32). Table 2.8 shows that the highest percentages of the population earn a salary between \$0-\$12000, with 65.6% of males and 66.7% of females comprising the group. According to the Human Development Report (HDR) (2006), families struggling financially find it difficult to keep their children in school. It is often found that these parents blame the village, church and extended family (Samoan way of life) for the financial complications that prevent their children from continuing in school (HDR, 2006).

Table 2.8

Employees by salary/wages per annum and government tax rates, 2006

Total	Male	Female					
Salary per annum	Tax rates	24387	%	15294	%	9093	%
\$0-\$12000	(NIL)	15994	65.6	15294	66.7	5794	63.7
\$12001-\$15000	10%	1636	6.7	1046	6.8	590	6.5
\$15001-\$20000	20%	1887	7.7	1083	7.1	804	8.8
\$20001-\$40000	27%	2143	8.8	1227	8.0	916	10.1
\$40000+	27%	659	2.7	438	2.9	221	2.4
Not stated		2068	8.5	1300	8.5	768	8.4

Source: Census and Housing Report, (2006) Samoa.

Most families only have one person working full time, with a minimum salary that will be used for church activities, family *faalavelave*, children's education and family meals. This kind of hardship occurs as a consequence the minimum wages that individuals receive. According to the studies by Pereira (2005) and Vaa (2006), many Samoan families continue to make financial contributions towards family occasions (*faalavelave*) which result in financial struggles. In order to satisfy these financial restrictions, these families often tend to request assistance from relatives overseas. These overseas relatives assist families in Samoa through remittances to fulfil family obligations to the village and the church (NZCTD, 1982; Vaa, 2001). Samoan families that have migrated overseas often assist relatives remaining

in Samoa in social and cultural activities, such as family funerals, weddings, the bestowing of chiefly titles and *umusaga* (celebration for the completion of a church building) (Macpherson, 1978; Vaa, 2001).

Besides the educational problems highlighted above, serious problems also derive from behaviours specific to teachers and schoolwork. Students are often inactive, passive, unmotivated and display abrupt behaviours such as violence, creating graffiti, back chatting, absenteeism, incompetency and gang allegiance. This is incompatible with the way Samoan children have been brought up by their parents and families. Samoan children are brought up and disciplined with the traditional *fa'asamoa* way of learning in their everyday life, while the school system contains just a portion of that learning or *fa'asamoa*. With this background, arguably, Samoan students will always fail the system because the system operates under policies developed in western societies. In addition, Samoan students in school will continue to reproduce their Samoan way of living, which is often incompatible with the school system. In Samoa, the current school system drives students into a western system, where expectations are contradictory to how students behave in their own environment. Therefore, this thesis argues that, in order for the school system to succeed in Samoa, it will be necessary to assimilate more Samoan ways of learning into the school system.

While global and local contexts are important for a holistic education, decontextualised learning must still be applicable. For instance, a social studies unit studying the Kalahari Desert is difficult for Samoan students to relate to. Therefore, incorporating a global focus should not ignore the relevance of contextually situated learning. However, the imposition of a content imposed by western advisors ignores the contexts and has led to a 'foreign' and alien school system that sets up unrealistic expectations for students, leading to failure for most Samoan students.

Students are also competing amongst themselves to find a place in the top high schools in Samoa. At year 8, students must sit a national exam to be admitted to year nine. There are only two top government high schools out of 25 government high schools, eight mission secondary schools and two private colleges; other government colleges in rural areas are not favoured by many parents and their children. Most parents are not confident with rural colleges, due to limited resources to

accommodate the educational needs of students. Some of these colleges do not have the teachers for most school subjects. For instance, some teachers have graduated from teachers' college with teaching majors in Samoan and Home Economics and, at their new school, these subjects are not taught at all. Some teachers often find themselves teaching in subject areas they were not trained for.

Table 2.9 shows the three different regions and districts of school enrolments in 2010. It indicates that Apia Urban area contains more students in secondary schools than either of the other two region and districts. In respect to primary school enrolment, schools in the urban area, Apia, enrol more students than do primary schools in the rest of Upolu district. Urban areas tend to take more students from the Rest of Upolu. Clearly, most students from Savaii are now living in Apia Urban for education. This is indicated by the smaller number of students enrolled in primary and secondary education in the whole of Savaii.

Table 2.9

School enrolments by district and maximum level provided, 2010

Region and District	Primary enrolments all schools	Secondary enrolments all schools	Maximum level in 2010	Maximum level in 2010
	2010	2010	Government	Non-government
Apia Urban total	14559	7093	13	13
Rest of Upolu total	15904	5060	13	13
Savaii total	10346	4116	13	13

Source: MESC Statistical Digest (2010) Samoa

Other school problems have to do with the unfairness in the distribution of teachers to schools and with teacher training. Student teachers who are sent abroad on scholarships are often placed in urban schools. Furthermore, the number of places available for students to study in the National University of Samoa⁵ for the

⁵ The National University of Samoa is the only university belonging to Samoa. The University of the South Pacific has its Agricultural and Horticultural campus in Samoa, but the main campus is in Fiji.

Foundation Certificate Program (FCP) are less than the demand for these places. Furthermore, the National University of Samoa is divided into two sections: The Institute of Higher Education (IHE) and Institute of Technology (IOT). Students who enter the Faculty of Education (FoE) in IHE are required to obtain a total score between 4 and 18 from the Pacific Secondary School Certificate (PSSC). Each subject is rated 1-10, so a student must acquire 1-5 (pass) in each subject in order to enter the National University of Samoa Foundation Year. In addition, English is a compulsory subject for all students to pass with their best three subjects.

The Faculty of Business and Entrepreneurship (FOBE), Faculty of Arts (FOA) and Faculty of Science (FOS) share the same entrance score. The entrance score for the Faculty of Education and the Faculty of Nursing are also the same. The faculties of FOBE, FOA and FOS require a student to enter with a score of 4-15. The FoE and FoN entrance scores are lower, at 4-18. The IOT has an open entrance criterion, which means that students can enter their programs with any score. All students in year 13 are required to sit an examination for a place in the Foundation Program, previously called, the University Preparatory Year (UPY). The problem that FoE lecturers encounter every year, during enrolment at the National University of Samoa, is that many students achieve the required total of 4-18 but fail English. For instance, a student may come in with a score of 5 or 6 in English, which is below a pass, along with a score of 2 or 3 in their other three subjects. In other words, these students fail English, but still continue on to the Foundation Program because they have achieved the total marks required for entrance. This is problematic as the National University of Samoa's main language of instruction during lectures is English, and Samoan language is mainly used collaboratively with English during tutorial classes.

Additional problems include the conflict between views of locals (Samoans) and foreign educational contributors in areas of guidance, conflict resolution,

The Foundation program is equivalent to form 7 level or year 12 in Australia. The National University of Samoa teaches the courses in this program, due to the lack of resources in secondary schools in Samoa.

services, organisation, and the establishment of quality education in Samoa. The views of the foreign educational contributors often contradict Samoan culture. Hence, the educational services in these areas do not correlate with Samoan cultural expectations. Although, traditional practices still exist in people's family and village activities, the introduction of a western lifestyle has made it more difficult to understand the western world than previously. In the area of schooling, the organisation of the curriculum is based on Australian and New Zealand ideas. For instance, all the subjects such as English, History, Science, and Geography, and their contents, originate from western environments, which can contradict the existing knowledge of Samoan children. Most of these students may not have been away from Samoa, and their only links with the outside world are through television and Internet services; therefore, they have little or no comprehension of these concepts.

The importance of higher education is crucial in Samoan families, where most families are struggling to ensure that their children succeed in school. The Strategic Policies and Plan July 2006 to June 2015⁶ emphasises equal opportunity to education regarding equity, quality, relevancy, efficiency and sustainability; unfortunately, these are not absolute ways of promoting higher education amongst all Samoans (MESC, 2006). While the policy promotes a higher standard of education for middle class families, working class families continue to suffer the consequences of being unable to access higher education.

Samoan life was dominated by *fa'asamoa* (Samoan way) during the pre-colonisation period, free from outside influences, until the arrival of missionaries and the two colonial powers (O'meara, 1993, pp. 135-136). Samoan history in terms of culture, society, education and politics demonstrates that the Samoan values have changed during this transition period. Formal education replaced informal education, while missionaries changed social and cultural activities to align with their western

⁶ The Strategic Policies and Plan July 2006 to June 2015 was developed by the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (MESC). It outlines policies and the strategic plan for the period 2006 to 2015. These are the policies and strategic that the MESC plans to achieve in the next 10 years. The idea is to monitor new educational developments implemented to promote quality, relevancy, efficiency, sustainability and equity in education.

ways of living. The education system in Samoa has attempted to reformulate to be accountable for the needs and interests of all Samoan people. Nevertheless, the presence and domineering influence of western education is apparent, with Samoans having to learn about the history and literature of the outside world. Samoan education is currently at the difficult and complex nexus of achieving an appropriate inclusion of Samoan education values, beliefs and practices into a mainly western education system. The next section discusses colonialism and neo-colonialism based on Thomas and Postlewaite's (1984) examination of the educational changes in Samoa. The aim here is to provide a synthesis of historical influences on Samoan education.

2.5 SAMOAN EDUCATION SYSTEM FROM COLONIALISM, NEO-COLONIALISM TO POST-COLONIALISM: EDUCATIONAL MODEL 1930-2011

Table 2.10 originated from Murray Thomas and Neville Postlewaite's (1984) study, which identified the types of education, that occurred in the 1930s and 1980s during classical colonialism and neo-colonialism in Samoa. In this study, I have added a third column that compares and explains the educational reality in post-colonial Samoa 2011 to the other periods.

Table 2.10

Secular Education in Western Samoa – 1930s and 1980s

The term secular education refers to such nonreligious subjects as reading, writing, arithmetic, social studies, science, health education, handicrafts, and vocational training.

1930 Classical Colonialism New Zealand	1980 Neo-colonialism – Independence	2011 Post-colonialism - 21 st Century
What is the purpose or role of schooling? To teach secular subjects. Primary school in Samoan and secondary school in English. <i>Who determines the purposes?</i> New Zealand educators <i>From what culture were the purposes derived?</i> Primarily from New Zealand culture, secondarily from Samoan. <i>Whose interests were served?</i> Samoans who wished to adopt Western ways and to become	To teach secular subjects. Primary school in Samoan and secondary school in English. Western-educated Samoans Primarily from Western cultures, secondarily from Samoan. Samoans who wished to adopt Western ways and to become literate	To teach secular subjects in primary school bi-lingually. To teach year 4-13 and tertiary level in English. Western-educated Samoans Primarily from Western cultures, secondarily from Samoan. Samoans who wished to adopt Western ways and become literate in both

literate in Samoan language.	in Samoan language.	English and Samoan language.
The administrative structure of the education system <i>Who determines the administrative structure?</i>		
Non-Samoans imported from New Zealand.	Western-educated Samoans with consultants from New Zealand.	Western-educated Samoans with consultants from New Zealand and Australia.
<i>From what culture was the structure derived?</i>		
New Zealand Educational Personnel	New Zealand	New Zealand and Australia
<i>Who decides on the recruiting and promoting system for personnel?</i>		
Non-Samoans from New Zealand.	Western-educated Samoans with experience in the New Zealand designed school system, aided by Non-Samoan consultants from New Zealand.	Samoan administrators in government schools. Samoan and non-Samoan officials in church and private schools.
<i>What influence do ethnic origins have on personnel recruitment and promotion?</i>		
Non-Samoans imported from New Zealand hold top administrative and teaching posts, Samoans make up bulk of teaching staff.	Samoans hold top administrative posts and bulk of teaching positions. A few non-Samoans hold middle level technical and teaching jobs.	Samoans hold top administrative posts and bulk of teaching positions. A few non-Samoans hold middle level technical and teaching jobs, both in secondary and tertiary level.
<i>What is the composition of the student population?</i> <i>Who decides the method for selecting students?</i>		
New Zealand administrators influenced by Samoan chiefs, and non-Samoan missionaries and Samoan church leaders in private schools.	Samoan administrators in public schools. Samoan and non-Samoan officials in church-sponsored private schools.	Samoan administrators in government schools. Samoan and non-Samoan officials in church and private schools.
<i>What influence do ethnic origins have on choice of students?</i>		
Non-Samoan whites, half-whites, and children of Samoan chiefs enjoy best opportunities.	No ethnic distinctions for schooling opportunities.	No ethnic distinctions for schooling opportunities.
<i>What is the curriculum and instructional methodology?</i>		
Secular subjects in Samoan and, in upper levels, in English with New Zealand textbooks.	Secular subjects in Samoan with local textbooks at lower levels, in English with New Zealand texts at upper grade level.	Secular subjects in Samoan with local and western textbooks at lower levels in English with western texts at secondary and tertiary level.
<i>Who determines the nature of the curriculum and teaching methods?</i>		
Non-Samoans imported from New Zealand for public schools. Non-Samoans and Samoan	Western educated Samoans with advisers from New Zealand and U.S. Peace Corps for public schools.	Western educated Samoans with advisers from NZ and Australian for government schools. Samoans and

Christians for private schools.	Samoans and Non-Samoans for church schools.	Non-Samoans for Church and private schools.
<i>What are the cultural sources of the curriculum and teaching method?</i>		
Chiefly New Zealand, secondarily Samoan.	Chiefly New Zealand, secondarily Samoan.	Chiefly New Zealand and Australia, secondarily Samoan.
<i>Whose welfare is served by the curriculum?</i>		
New Zealand authorities who wish to Westernise Samoans; and Samoans who wish to compete successfully in Western societies.	Samoans who wish to compete in Western societies and to retain the Samoan language and culture.	Samoans who wish to compete in Western societies and to retain the Samoan and English language and culture.
<i>Who determines how education will be financed?</i>		
New Zealand authorities and Samoan chiefs, along with church leaders.	Officials in the government of Western Samoa and, in the case of private schools, church leaders.	Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture. School board for Private schools and church schools by Church leaders
<i>How do people's ethnic origins influence their role in educational finance?</i>		
Samoan parents and missions furnish most funding, with the New Zealand government providing some finances.	Samoans in government set the budget for public schools; Samoan parents pay private-school fees with aid from mission sources	Samoans in government set the budget for government schools as well as parents paying fees. For private schools, Samoan parents pay fees. For church school, parents pay fees.

Adapted from: 'Schooling in the Pacific Islands' Edited by R. Murray Thomas and T. Neville Postlewaite – (1984, ppgs. 231-234).

2.5.1 Column 1 – 1930 Classical colonialism

The first column focuses on classical colonialism and explains the kinds of education operating in Samoa in 1930 during the New Zealand colonial regime. Throughout this period, education was mainly dominated by Anglo-British values, beliefs and ideas. The purpose or role of schooling was to teach secular subjects. Primary school was taught in Samoan and secondary school was taught in English. Overall, the New Zealand education system was catering for those Samoans who wished to assimilate to western ways of living. New Zealand educators determined the purposes of education for Samoans. The structure was based on New Zealand culture; that is, on colonial British culture. All the top administrative and teaching posts were taken by New Zealanders, while indigenous Samoans became part of the general teaching team.

In terms of the composition of student population, it was explained by Thomas and Postlewaite (1984) that New Zealand administrators decided the methods for selecting students. Most decisions were influenced by Samoan chiefs, non-Samoan missionaries and Samoan church leaders in private schools. As a result, children who were mainly non-Samoan whites, half caste and Samoan chiefs' children enjoyed the best western educational opportunities during New Zealand colonial regime.

During New Zealand's colonial regime, New Zealanders were appointed to control teaching methods for public schools. However, non-Samoans and Samoan Christians were in charge of private schools. The structure of the curriculum, was that, all secular subjects were in Samoan, while upper levels were in English; fully equipped with New Zealand textbooks.

In 1930, the cultural values, beliefs and ideas that underpinned the curriculum and teaching methods during colonialism in Samoa were chiefly New Zealand and secondarily Samoan. Unfortunately, not all Samoans were able to get the best education. The aim of the curriculum was to serve the welfare of New Zealand authorities who wanted to westernise Samoans.

The financial side of education was mainly controlled by New Zealand authorities, Samoan chiefs and church leaders. However, Samoan parents and missions provided most funding, with the New Zealand government providing some finances. Slight changes occurred in the educational system after Samoa became independent in 1962.

2.5.2 Column 2 – 1980 Neo-colonialism - Independent

The second column represents the Samoan educational operation after colonialism and Samoan independence. The organisation of the education system and new developments in different educational areas became the role of Samoan people. The first change was the main purpose of schooling for all Samoan children. All secular subjects in lower grades were taught in Samoan, while upper grades were taught in English. This educational purpose was determined by western educated

Samoans. However, the educational cultural values, beliefs and ideas were still dominated by western cultures, with Samoan culture in the background. Education from 1980 aimed to serve Samoans who wished to adopt western ways, as well as to become literate in the Samoan language.

Thomas and Postlewaite (1984) state that New Zealand government were still assisting Samoans' education developments during neo-colonialism. For instance, the administrative structure was mainly determined by western-educated Samoans, with the assistance of consultants from New Zealand. The structure of the Samoan education system still derived from the New Zealand education system, due to the influence of its consultants. In fact, the recruiting and promoting of the educational personnel was the responsibility of western-educated Samoans, again, New Zealand consultants were also involved in decision making. However, all the top administrative posts and most teaching positions were held by Samoans, and only a small number of non-Samoans filled middle level technical and teaching jobs.

Other additional changes during neo-colonialism in 1980, as indicated by Thomas and Postlewaite (1984), were within the composition of student population. That is, Samoan administrators in public schools decided the method for selecting students, while Samoan and non-Samoans were in charge of private and church schools. This system was created to provide all Samoan students with similar schooling opportunities, whether they are male or female, rich or poor, half-caste or full-Samoan.

The curriculum in particular also had major changes, when secular subjects were taught in Samoan with the utilisation of local textbooks at lower levels. Furthermore, the upper grade levels were taught in English, with the supply of texts from New Zealand. The nature of the curriculum and teaching methods in public schools was determined by western-educated Samoans, with advisers from New Zealand as well as the United States Peace Corps. Samoans and non-Samoans were responsible for church schools. However, the cultural sources of the curriculum and teaching methods, as revealed by Thomas and Postlewaite (1984), were dominated by New Zealand culture, while Samoan culture was secondary. This same curriculum was to serve Samoans who wished to acquire western knowledge and skills, while also wishing to retain the Samoan language and culture. Officials in the government

of Samoa managed the finances of public schools. Church leaders were in charge of mission schools. Samoan parents contributed financially through paying their children's school fees.

2.5.3 Column 3 – Post-colonialism 21st Century

The third column represents post-colonial education in 2011. Post-colonial experienced a few changes from 1930 during colonialism and 1980 in neo-colonialism. This third column emerges from the current study, and has been added to the original table from Thomas and Postlewaite (1984). The table now provides a clear link between colonial, neo-colonial and post-colonial education. In the post-colonial period, the purpose or role of schooling changed. For instance, secular subjects started to be taught bilingually from year 4 to 13. The administrative structure of the education system in post-colonial Samoa, is controlled by western-educated Samoans with the assistance from New Zealand and Australian consultants. This confirms that the original culture for the educational administrative structure circles around New Zealand and Australian ideas. Education still aims to serve Samoans who wish to adopt western knowledge, ideas and skills, and to become literate in both English and Samoan languages.

Despite the domination by New Zealand and Australian cultural values, beliefs and ideas, Samoan administrators in government schools are in charge of recruiting and promoting educational personnel. Samoans continue to hold full educational operation both in top administrative posts and in teaching. The method for selecting students is done by Samoan administrators in government schools, as well as with the assistance from the school operation department in the MESC. Private and mission schools are controlled by Samoan and non-Samoan officials. The students are selected on the level of ability rather than on their ethnic origins.

The organisation of the curriculum and instructional methodology during post-colonisation tends to be exercising a hybrid education system, with western materials and resources being seen as more important than Samoan. For instance, secular subjects are taught in Samoan and English. Also, western textbooks are used at lower levels. English is now the primary language at secondary and tertiary level. The

curriculum aims to serve the welfare of indigenous Samoans who wish to acquire western knowledge and skills. However, the current Samoan education system also has learners who wish to operate in both western and Samoan cultures.

Post-colonial education in Samoa tends to survive on monetary aid from developed nations, as well as world organisations. This financial aid from donor countries, together with government assistance, has been used by MESC to operate primary, secondary and tertiary education. After the handing down the budget by parliament, MESC also makes distribution to other educational developments as well as to private and church schools for their own educational purposes.

Therefore, education in post-colonial Samoa models a western style system, however, indigenous educated Samoans are now recognised due to their assimilation to western education, social and cultural systems. For instance, English has again become a dominant language at primary, secondary and tertiary level. That is, the current system exhibits a hybrid education system dominated by western values, beliefs and ideas. This proves that colonialism is repeating itself and that the colonisers continue to influence decision making in different educational developments in post-colonial Samoa.

2.6 CONCLUSION

The social and cultural history of Samoa reveals the many changes between pre-missionary, colonial and post-colonial times. The result is a hybrid cultural model, where Samoan ways of living coincide with western ways of living. Thomas and Postlewaite's table (1984) is significant because it indicates that most of the educational developments during colonisation were maintained by Samoans after New Zealand departed. It can be argued that most educational establishments by New Zealand during colonisation are still in use in the current post-colonial Samoan education system.

Table 2.11 includes the views of missionaries and westerners, to the historical bases of traditional Samoan values.

Table 2.11

Samoan cultural values

Values	Feature	Source
Hospitality	Strangers and relatives are welcome to stay, given	Vaa, 2001

Love	<p>food and beds. Strangers welcomed as members of a family.</p> <p>Kindness and caring is displayed to another person by assisting them with the community, village, school or anything they have problems with. People keep the peace and maintain solidarity in the community.</p>	<p>Pre-Missionaries</p> <p>Post-colonial Samoa</p> <p>Vaa, F. 2006</p> <p>Pereira, J. 2005</p> <p>Macpherson, 1978</p> <p>Post-colonial Samoa</p> <p>Missionaries</p> <p>Western</p>
Collaboration Consultation	<p>People are encouraged to meet, talk, make decisions, share ideas with everyone in the village or family. This way will bring solidarity and unification to the nation, village and family.</p>	<p>Samoan</p> <p>Western</p> <p>Missionaries</p>
Reciprocity	<p>It is important to help your sister or brother, neighbours, aunty, uncle, and cousins in time of important family events, such as weddings, funerals, birthdays, and so forth – important to lend a helping hand to those who need assistance in anything to survive socially, cultural and educationally.</p>	<p>Samoan</p> <p>Western</p> <p>Missionaries</p>
Sacred Relationship	<p>Maintain respectful relationships between individuals, the young must know their sacred relationship with the old, the sacred relationship between sister and brother is taboo. Brothers must care and protect their sisters till death, the untitled men and young women of the village must know their sacred relationship with the chiefs and their wives.</p>	<p>Samoan</p> <p>Maiai, 1957</p> <p>Davidson, 1967</p>
Respect	<p>Maintain peace, ensure to respect yourself before respecting another person, respect other people's opinions and also be willing to assist the disadvantage in society and in community organisations, and be willing to accept people from other cultures and races.</p>	<p>Samoan</p> <p>Missionaries</p> <p>Western</p>
Mutual respect	<p>Young people and old must know how to greet, welcome and farewell people with high status. Respect is highly important.</p>	<p>Samoan</p>
Obedience	<p>Obedying parents, elders, older people, pastors and teachers is a symbol of respect. It is also a sign of good teaching and learning in the home.</p>	<p>Samoan</p> <p>Missionaries</p> <p>Western</p>
Responsibility	<p>People must be responsible to assist one another, willing to lend a hand without waiting to be called, and contributing to maintaining peace in the family, public places, village and church.</p>	<p>Vaa, F. 2001</p> <p>Samoan</p> <p>Western</p>
Identity	<p>People should keep away from trouble to ensure that your parents' names, family title, village and nation's identity is safe and protected. To be an orator, great fisherman, strong and unafraid of wars, popular in sports, education, and have a good job all contribute to a popular identity.</p>	<p>Samoan</p>

Good service	A Samoan person must serve their matais chiefs by protecting and keeping them safe. Children should serve their parents and brothers to sisters.	Samoan
Honesty	Doing the right thing by helping yourself and other people.	Samoan Missionaries Western

The values that are presented in table 2.11 may have similar meanings between Samoan, missionary and western societies, but people from these places do practised these values differently. In particular, these values correlate with Samoan everyday cultural and social living situations. Therefore, the description of each value, as stated, is based on how Samoans live in their society. These values were also described by Maiai (1957), Davidson (1967), Vaa (2001) and Silipa (2004) as crucial to social and cultural living situations of Samoans in times of funerals, weddings, bestowment of chief titles and many other special occasions. In addition, these values which were/are seen as relevant to Samoan cultural and social living were also the same values noted by participants as important to all Samoans.

I have established in this Chapter the historical periods of Samoan education. The Chapter has demonstrated the historical underpinnings of debates over the sources of Samoan values. The next Chapter provides a discussion on the theories that clarify the changes in education, society and culture of Samoan people in the post-colonial period.

Chapter 3: **GLOBALISATION AND POST-COLONISATION: IMPACT ON SAMOAN EDUCATION SYSTEM**

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The historical and contemporary context of Samoan education outlined in Chapter 2 highlights the significance of post-colonialism and globalisation. The impact of colonialism and globalisation on the Samoan education system has resulted in a hybrid, heterogeneous education system. Exploring post-colonialism and globalisation are therefore central to understanding how western education is embedded within the indigenous context of Samoa.

This chapter begins by describing the impact of imperialism and colonialism on Samoa, and the post-colonial response. This description is followed by a discussion of the current context of education in post-colonisation Samoa. The two post-colonial concepts of hybridity and heterogeneity are then explained, as is their application to this research study. The study argues that cultural and social situations within Samoa have been transformed from homogeneous forms to heterogeneous forms, in order to be consistent with western educational, social and cultural ways of living.

A definition of globalisation and its impact on Samoan education is provided. The study attempts to identify the influence of globalisation within Samoa, and examines its advantages and disadvantages to the nation as a whole. This enables the study to identify Samoa's educational, social and cultural values in the present, in comparison to Samoan cultural values in the past. The chapter concludes by arguing that adopting a post-colonial outlook is necessary to create a third space where Samoan values and western values coexist.

3.2 IMPERIALISM AND COLONIALISM IN SAMOA

Imperialism establishes the authority of colonisers and replaces the rights and obligations of the colonised with imposed systems. According to Boehmer (1995), “Imperialism can be taken to refer to the authority assumed by a state over another territory—authority expressed in pageantry and symbolism, as well as in military power” (p. 2). Boehmer (1995) states that post-colonialism captures the social, cultural, and political changes that most former colonised nations experienced while being colonised. Further, post-colonial theory provides an understanding of how society progressed from pre-colonisation to colonisation to post-colonisation. Similarly, Smith (1999, p. 59) explained imperialism as “colonial exploitation” that, during imperialism, the coloniser used military power to claim indigenous lands, and stripped people of their languages, cultures and socialisation.

Imperialism is the extension of the power of a state through the acquisition, usually by conquest, of other territories. The era in which imperialism began in the Pacific was before WWI and WWII, when the British Empire expanded its nation-states throughout the Pacific (Smith, 1999). Cultural, physical, political, and social movements of the British Empire influenced most parts of the world, injecting the beliefs, values, and ideas of the British Empire into these colonised nations.

The exercise of imperial power made small island nations vulnerable to the inflow of changes from the outside world; island nations such as Samoa and other Pacific islands were profoundly affected by colonialism. Smith’s (1999) documentation of indigenous relationships with Western societies highlights the dramatic influence of developed nations on Pacific countries, complicating aspects of indigenous cultures. Most colonised countries have seen that, “through imperialism, ... these cultures, peoples and their nation states were repositioned as ‘oriental’, or ‘outsider’ in order to legitimate the imposition of colonial rule” (Smith, 1999, p. 63), and regard it as an alien rule imposed by force. Colonisation of Samoan society meant people had difficulties in assimilating and adapting to the imperial political, social, cultural, and educational rules and regulations. Smith’s (1999) argument indicates that imperialism was a political manoeuvre imposed by colonisers over small island nations, with the intention to expand their cultural, social, educational, and political rule over indigenous populations. This resulted in the restructuring of

indigenous social, cultural, political, and educational environments, and expectations that all individuals would assimilate and follow. This was the kind of colonial experience Samoan people endured during the German and New Zealand colonial regimes in Samoa (Meleisea, 1987). It was the beginning of an era where western colonisers significantly influenced the social, cultural, political, economic, and educational landscape of Samoa.

Due to imperial domination, Samoan people and society adapted to changes brought by the colonisers. These were social, cultural, and educational changes that represented both Samoan and western beliefs, values, and ideas. Ultimately, these changes formed a new heterogeneous Samoan society (Masterman, 1958). Colonial impact changed Samoans' values, ideas, and beliefs. Inevitably, the changes in cultural activities and living situations began to be reflected in education. The emergence of a hybrid education system was an inevitable realisation for Samoans.

Colonialism is a form of imperialism based on maintaining a sharp and fundamental distinction between the ruling nation and the subordinate population. According to Boehmer (1995):

Colonialism involves the consolidation of imperial power, and is manifested in the settlement of territory, the exploitation or development of resources, and the attempt to govern the indigenous inhabitants of occupied lands. (p. 2)

When German administration took over Samoa before WWI, Samoan people were expected to follow and abide by the changes imposed by the Germans. This included speaking the German language, as well as studying under a German education system. The pattern continued under the subsequent New Zealand rule, which again brought about changes in the German system of education, culture, social and political affairs (Meleisea, 1987). Many studies concur that colonialism entailed either inequality or a violation of equal rights. For instance, people were cast into different classes, such as working, middle and upper class. This social class system positioned individuals and fostered a colonial education system, which, according to Smith (1999), is a 'mechanism' for creating new indigenous elites' (p.51). For instance, in the past, Samoan families in the villages were distinguished

by their chiefly status in the village. However, after the arrival of Missionaries and colonisation in Samoa, Samoan society then shifted into lower, middle and upper class families based on their wealth and qualifications, paving the way for Western social class systems in Samoa (Meleisea, 1987).

Colonialism was the beginning of formal Western education in Samoa. It was an era that unveiled the social and cultural differences among Samoans. Samoans began to take advantage of the benefits of their new colonial world. As a result, some Samoans were selected for further studies in New Zealand, mostly in the area of teaching. The political aim of the New Zealand colonial administration was for these people to return to Samoa to become school teachers (Meleisea, 1987).

The adoption of western ways of living created a new formulation in the structure of the social class system in Samoa. In fact, it was a Western social class system has lead to Samoans being recognised for their wealth rather than their chiefly status. (Meleisea, 1987). This related to the high chiefs, orators, untitled men and male and female children. High chiefs in Samoan society were the ones with the highest status in the village, followed by orators and then *taulealea* (untitled men) and children (Meleisea, 1987). Women's ranking in Samoan society consisted the wife of the high chief at the top, followed by the orator's wife, unmarried women (Gardner, 1965). After the arrival of missionaries, and with the introduction of a village pastor, this class structure in Samoa altered. High status was instead bestowed on church pastors rather than the traditional leaders of the village—high chiefs (Meleisea, 1987). Individuals' exposure to the new world set unequal living conditions for all, with competition for material success or trappings leading to struggle and suffering bringing violence and dissention among family members and village communities. In general, missionaries were so keen and hardworking to develop Samoa that they were able to convince Samoans to change their perceptions and views about what life should be like for a developing nation. Hence, missionaries, imperialism and then colonialism have shaped the whole nation.

Colonialism in Samoa led to the adoption of a model of government drawn from the British Empire. In addition, there was an increase in economic development among local Samoans. The success of well organised politics and effective economic development depended on quality education provided by the colonisers. For

instance, a productive curriculum, together with good teaching, was to assure a skilful and intelligent workforce in the future. Colonial education (Smith, 1999) meant indigenous people were motivated to learn the coloniser's language, knowledge, ideas, and skills. Currently, Samoa as a former colonised society, has discovered that most of its cultural and social activities in a post-colonial era have been reinvented to coincide with its hybrid ways of living. In the current education system, most of these social and cultural changes have now been introduced into the curriculum. Students are now expected to learn and acquire hybrid social and cultural ways of living.

In fact, the old Samoan social and cultural beliefs were replaced by new beliefs. The importance of *taulealea* and *aualuma* organisation as well as children's close association with the wives of high chiefs, were replaced by new organisation and associations. The emergence of new church affiliations, as well as non-government organisations, meant youth replaced their Samoan traditional social and cultural ways of living with a hybrid mix of indigenous and western value systems. Therefore, the hybrid mix of indigenous and western value system are led to expectations of educational rights and freedom of choice in lieu of the traditional authoritative social, cultural practice of deferring to parents and significant adults.

Clearly, the impact of imperialism and colonialism causes radical change, where people are left little alternative other than to adopt the new way of life. Samoan people today still find it very difficult to deliberate and contemplate the negative and positive impacts of post-colonial life. The next section discusses the post-colonial response of a former colonised nation in terms of the social, cultural and educational activities.

3.3 POST-COLONIALISM AND SAMOA

Post-colonial discourse attempts to identify and verify the social, cultural, political, economic, and educational differences between the dominant and inferior races, as well as the colonised and coloniser. For former colonised individuals, post-

colonialism allows “previously silenced voices to be heard...and recognition of liberated silenced voices” (Webb, 2006, p. 1). From this perspective, post-colonialism provides academic freedom and opportunity to individuals of former colonised nations to critically analyse their social, cultural, and educational situations from within a heterogeneous society. Sharp (2007) supports Webb’s (2006) notion, but adds that post-colonialism advocates for reconstruction of former colonised nations’ social, cultural, political, and educational activities, and to “reverse western domination over non-western nations and its peoples” (p.3). Sharp (2007) has explained that post-colonialism is a way of “changing people’s thinking, behaviour and creating new ways of living amongst all different peoples of the world” (p. 3). However, Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (1995) argue that post-colonialism comprises deliberations of a variety of experiences such as “migration, slavery, suppression, resistance, representation, difference, race, gender, and the responses to the influential master discourses of imperial Europe” (p. 604). Post-colonialism allows former colonised individuals and nations to respond to imperial and colonial domination. Tikly (1999) argued differently, by describing post-colonialism as a “global condition or shift in the cultural, political, and economic arrangements that arise from the experiences of European colonialism both in former colonised and colonising countries” (p. 605). This description includes not only the economic and political changes in former colonised nations, but the changes in social and educational structures as well. Overall, the post-colonial discourses described by all authors share a common theme, that is post-colonialism is an era of re-appropriation, re-contextualisation, and re-conceptualisation after colonisation of social, cultural, educational, economic, and political values, beliefs and ideas.

Sharp’s (2009) study uses post-colonialism as an analysis of “colonialism and one that seeks to offer alternative accounts of the world” (p. 4). Similarly, this study aims to use the discourse of post-colonialism to clarify the causes of hybridisation in Samoan cultural values as a result of imperialism and colonialism. In particular, this study uses post-colonialism to reconstruct and reappropriate the social and cultural situation of former colonised people in Samoa. That is, to comprehend how they adjust to their heterogeneous society. As a discourse, post-colonialism exposes the colonial social, cultural, and educational values that continue to impact on the

educational performances of Samoan students. In addition, post-colonialism in this study also provides a space to discuss the relevance of Samoan traditional values.

Obviously, post-colonialism permits former colonised nations' voices to be heard and recognised as the opportunity to articulate was not freely given to the colonised while under the influence of colonial regime. The social, cultural, and educational changes brought about by colonials were due to the relationship based on "power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony" (Said, 2005, p.75). Samoan social and cultural aspects of life were colonised, and that Samoans learnt to speak Occidental languages and adopt Occidental values. The amalgamation of the Occidental social, cultural, and educational aspects within Samoan society resulted in the existence of hybridity that Bhabha (1994) terms as the third space. The colonised had to assimilate and adapt to the hybrid system in order to reconstruct and preserve their social, cultural and economic situations.

Fanon (1967) strongly argues that former colonised nations and people will continue to be inferior and remain as hybrid with a miserable, undecided identity unless they rise up against their dominant opponent. Fanon (1967) extended his idea by stating that "former colonised people must fight against their.... underdevelopment after gaining their liberation" (p. 74). The importance of this opportunity after liberation is for minority groups, former colonised and poorer nations to expand their social, cultural, and educational vision for re-conceptualisation and re-contextualisation and re-appropriation of their values, beliefs and ideas.

Spivak (2003) came to the rescue of the subalterns, and raised a different post-colonial idea of survival from Said (2005 and 1978) and Fanon (1967). Subalterns are a group of less important people in a society or a non-elite (Mattison, 2009, p. 1), mainly those from a low caste. But the term subaltern was used by Spivak (2003) to refer to the position of Indian women in society (Ross, 2012, p. 385). The issue regarding the subalterns in post-colonial discourses was to find whether they were capable to speak for themselves and, according to Spivak, this has been difficult. Spivak's (2003) search for post-colonial alternatives towards rescuing the subalterns

was through ‘Essentialism’. Essentialism is a philosophical belief that describes a certain group of people that share some significant nature (Leitch, 2001). Spivak’s argues that the way for subalterns to make their presence known is through ‘strategic essentialism’. That is, for the subalterns to construct significant strategies that are integral to their own social and cultural needs in society (Spivaks, 2003). In order for the subalterns to be heard, they need to speak for themselves by making essential claims to save their identity and their place in the mainstream society (Leitch, 2001).

Adapting to post-colonial perspectives has presented Samoans with another opportunity, as subalterns (Spivak, 2003), to reconstruct their social, cultural, and educational values through careful strategic essentialism similar to that which will appropriate their place and membership in a heterogeneous society. In fact, subalterns are the only people who understand themselves better than any outsiders who wish to write about them. In post-colonial studies, similar situations are present in former colonised nations, where they make significant post-colonial claims to advocate for the survival of their social and cultural values, beliefs and ideas in society. That is, indigenous people know more about their history and culture than outsiders (Smith, 1999).

Post-colonisation in Samoa is an era in which indigenous people have experienced social and cultural changes. In fact, the impact of colonialism has most interfered with the day-to-day social, cultural and educational operation of the nation. Cultural change is now displayed in some parts of the Samoan culture, such as:

the items used for sua (gifts of food to a visitor) have also undergone change; for instance, instead of a green coconut (vailolo) a can of soft drink has substituted this. Western cloth has replaced the siapo (tapa cloth); bread or a packet of SAO has replaced the cooked fowl (ta’ale paepae). (Vaa, 2006, p.125)

As noted in Chapter 2, Samoan culture has been shaped by a diverse range of historical and contemporary values, ideas, and beliefs of others (colonisers, tourists, diplomats, etc) which currently represents a heterogeneous Samoan society. “It is translated in Samoan as *‘E tele faiga ae tasi le faavae’*, meaning there is only one foundation but many ways of expressing it” (Vaa, 2006, p.114). Post-colonialism has encouraged Samoans, as subalterns, to take their place in a heterogeneous system by

embracing a 'hybrid culture' (Bhabha, 1994) that will enable Samoans to overhaul their education system, society and culture.

The educational vision, as explained by Afamasaga (2006) in Samoa, intends to capture the global social, cultural, educational, economic and political changes that influence Samoa. Afamasaga (2006) has argued that, "the curriculum is intended to be developed into a comprehensive and enriching program which: combines indigenous and global knowledge within a bilingual structure, and promotes an international standard of academic achievement" (p. 81). However, in post-colonial Samoa, it is important that people must rise up and voice their social and cultural concerns (Fanon, 1967; Sharp, 2007; Webb, 2006).

Clearly, in a post-colonial context, people have the opportunity to consider which other cultural values should be a part of their social, cultural, and educational lives. However, many of the global changes that have reinforced the hybridisation of Samoa contradict Samoan traditional values, beliefs and ideas. The contradictions are clearly evident in the struggle within educational institutions. The MESC has adopted a global education system that supports the new social, cultural, economic, and political changes in Samoa, and this continues to present challenges to Samoan students who, being in-between two sets of value system, fail to comprehend either.

The education system in Samoa has relied more on the ideas and values imparted from New Zealand and Australia, with little attention to Samoan ideas and values. Afamasaga (2002) argues that "schooling in Samoa (and in the Pacific) is a totally foreign import, and thus an alienating force, threatening to transform our societies beyond recognition" (p. 97). That is, the organisation and operation of education systems in former colonised nations is primarily Western with little policy on the inclusion of indigenous cultural and social values relevant to their environment. MESC (2006) defends its coordination of the education system by stating that its education policies integrate Western and indigenous social and cultural values. The MESC states that, in Samoa, "change is inevitable and education must equip the individual to engage confidently in the modern world and a rapidly changing society" (p. 11). In fact, the whole purpose of modern education in Samoa

is to provide adequate knowledge and skills to prepare individuals for the many global social, cultural, economic and political changes that they will encounter during their lives.

Post-colonial discourses explain the blending of Samoan and Western cultural values; however, most Samoans still insist that Samoan cultural values remain untouched. This kind of belief contradicts that of teacher education, where teachers, lecturers and elders continue to blame students' behavioural problems on the lack of Samoan cultural values in their lives. While reinforcing Samoan cultural values in teacher education is suitable for Samoans, it contradicts the view that western and Samoan values, beliefs and ideas must mesh with one another. Teacher education promotes the view that, rather than allow one system and one set of values to dominate, the hybrid education system must accommodate both. This study captures the cultural complexity of blending Western, and local cultural values, beliefs, and ideas when transforming from an indigenous homogeneous society into one that is heterogeneous. The next section explores the concept of hybridity. This is important for explaining how the indigenous values are interwoven with colonial values and ideology to create a heterogeneous system in Samoa.

3.3.1 Hybridity

The term hybridity has been defined by various authors to represent elements of social sciences and humanities. Hybridity is also known as the most debatable concept in post-colonial discourses. It is a concept of very diverse ideas and definitions that is pertinent to various fields. Hybridity is used mostly in biological research, which describes mixing of different substances to formulate new forms. However, the usage of hybridity in this research originates from Bhabha's (1994) interpretation in relation to cross-culture, where colonisers and colonised countries interweave their values, beliefs and ideas.

Bhabha (1994, cited in Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1998) has described hybridity as the "invention of new transcultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonisation" (p. 20). That is, hybridity represents a culture that is created through intermixing of the cultures of the coloniser and colonised. In turn, a

new social, cultural, political and educational system emerges to represent new changes; however, neither the colonised nor colonisers' social and cultural systems are fully represented by this new system.

Alina Sajed (2006) refers to hybridity as a “process that involves a mixture or a combination of two different elements” (p. 1), which results in a third element that claims a difference from either of the two terms. For instance, the colonised (element one) and coloniser (element two) have different cultural values, beliefs and ideas that mix to formulate something that is new and different. Similarly, Bounce (2009) defines hybridity “as the combination and mixing of multiple, seemingly opposing elements in a manner that maintains the various elements' characteristics” (p. 3). This means that this mixing of various elements undermines and modifies characteristics of the other elements; through this mixing, characteristics blend together to formulate a new element that maintains its own separate identity from the other main elements (Bounce, 2009, p. 3).

According to Bhabha's (1994) study of *The location of culture*, the term hybridity represents the newly created values, beliefs and ideas derived from two dominant cultures, identified as the third space. Bhabha (1994) has argued that the invention of a third space provides space for the colonised to reconstruct their cultural, social, and educational values, beliefs and ideas in a different manner. Hutnyk (2005) described Bhabha's notion of hybridity as an “in-between term, referring to a third space and to ambivalence and mimicry” (p. 2). Sajed (2006) indicates “this mutual process created a third space, a hybrid discourse, language, and system of practices, which does not belong exclusively to either the coloniser or colonised” (p. 3). A new culture emerges where it mimics the colonised and coloniser's social, cultural and educational values, beliefs and ideas, however, its operation, organisation and structure are different.

Hybridity has also been described as mimicry. In other words, each culture situated in this hybrid system mimics the other (Kraidy, 2005, p. 58). Therefore, mimicry is a “hybridising process” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 112), where values and beliefs, structures and organisations mimic the values, beliefs, structures of the colonised and

colonisers to create a hybrid culture. As Kraidy (2005) observes, “mimicry emerges as the representation of a difference that is itself a process of disavowal. As a result, mimicry appropriates the other as it visualises power” (p. 58). Hybrid education is a product of this blending of educational values and ideas of the colonised and colonisers’ education system. Thus mimicry, as Kraidy (2005) states, “undermines the authority of colonial representation because it brings to light the ambivalence of colonial discourse” (p. 58). In accordance with Kraidy’s (2005) version of mimicry, the idea of ‘third space’ or ‘hybrid culture’ provides minority groups with hybrid social, cultural, and educational ideas that inhabit society. That is, mimicry was used by former colonised nations to survive and acquire new educational approaches to deal with new economic and cultural conditions.

The concept of hybridity provides Samoan people with a new perspective. It does this by acknowledging that the intercultural educational mix of the coloniser and the colonised produces new ways of learning and gaining knowledge. In other words, the coloniser replaces Samoan old ideas and knowledge into new forms. For instance, Burnett (2009) indicates that Pacific islands and Western ideas and knowledge have been integrated under Western epistemologies (p.3). Burnett (2009), refer to this integration as a “critical praxis” (p. 3). Burnett (2009) contends that it is not an easy hybridisation, because there is the dominant influence of western cultures over indigenous cultures in this post-colonial mixing and blending. This study, however, maintains the belief that such a fusion between the colonised and coloniser epistemologies enables children to acquire educational knowledge that assists individuals, families, village, churches, and the nation to cope with knowledge systems in a post-colonial world.

Hybrid educational values and ideas are created and marked as different and unusual in colonised nations. Such transformations create a ‘third space’. Bhabha (1994) insists on this space in an attempt to separate it from the idea of an international culture. That is, he argues for a culture that is not formulated on anger, frustration, or multiculturalism, but on the articulation of cultural hybridity.

As explained, the current education system in Samoa is a hybrid of Western and Samoan systems. However, teachers, lecturers and students are often confused by the many educational activities that are not cohesive with their own Samoan

(cultural) understandings. In fact, hybridity as described above by Ashcroft, et al, (1998), Bounce (2009) and Sajed (2006), clarifies some confusion over the mixing and blending of educational ideas both from Samoan and donor countries (New Zealand and Australia) as well as World Bank and Asian Bank. In Samoa, many complaints by teachers and students (participants) are based on the new education pedagogy and curriculum, which are not aligned with Samoan ways of living. For instance, Samoan education expects a teacher to teach mainly in the Samoan language with the application of only Samoan ideals. This is not dissimilar to the expectations of a teacher in New Zealand or Australia, where they are expected to teach only in English with ideas from their own framework. However, the hybridity of the Samoan system allows Samoan teachers to be bi-lingual and to apply ideas from both Samoa and western countries to illustrate their ideas. In fact, this educational practice neither represents Samoan traditional education or western type education, but symbolises a hybrid education system that is in-between and occupies a third space. An aim of this study is to establish that it is in this 'third space' where we can illustrate that Samoan values, have also be given their place in this hybrid education system.

After colonisation and throughout post-colonisation, Samoa continued to follow and adapt New Zealand and Australian educational curriculum and pedagogy (MESC, 2007, p.142). Inevitably, the values, beliefs, and ideas of these Western nations and world agencies, continued to mix and blend with Samoan values, beliefs and ideas, which reinforce Samoan hybrid education system. In fact, the aim of this study is to establish that it is in this 'third space' that we find the discourse with which we can speak of ourselves and others. Therefore, it is not to create a third space to formulate ideas and beliefs that will become exclusively Samoan, but to illustrate that Samoan values, have also be given their space in this hybrid education system to practice alongside universal values.

3.3.2 Heterogeneity

Heterogeneity is a significant concept within post-colonial theory. Conceptually, heterogeneity defines an object or system composed of parts, and of different kinds (Goldberg, 2005). Others, such as Higgins and Green (2011) refer to heterogeneity as variability or differences. A heterogeneous cultural mixture can be described as a variety of different cultural values, beliefs and ideas situated in one society. For instance, a colonised society may contain a variety of cultural values, beliefs and ideas derived from different countries. Under heterogeneous circumstances, social, cultural and educational contexts are adjusted and adapted to different ideas depending on the global flows of the time (Hall, 2005). This means that survival for most colonised communities derives from their adaptation and assimilation to colonial ideas.

Education in Samoa has required financial assistance and human resources from various world organisations and donor countries. These bodies each have their own cultural values, beliefs and ideas that guide their education system. Along with the financial and human resource assistance from world organisations and donor countries, Samoa has had to accept the education systems of these countries. The most recent education reform was assisted by New Zealand, Australia and other world agencies. Therefore, professional consultants from these two countries played a significant role in the education reform (MESC, 2005). As a result, the heterogeneous education mix in Samoa cannot be measured. However, the educational ingredients have not always been compatible and this has created problems. In Samoa now, all educational materials and resources, including teachers, lecturers and subject topics are a mix of Samoan and Western values, beliefs and ideas. This educational structure represents a heterogeneous education system that is complex.

Therefore, heterogeneity provides a new outlook on the current cultural and social structure of Samoan society, particularly, the transformation of Samoan society through its adoption and utilisation of Western methodologies and ideologies in the everyday operation of workplaces, schools, churches and homes. Moreover, there is evidence of village movements from a homogeneous Samoan culture to what would now be considered a heterogeneous society. In fact, the rapid transformation

of homogeneous to heterogeneous society tends to be dependable on a stable hybrid education system. I now turn to a discussion of globalisation, with a focus on the relationship between globalisation and education, society, culture, and politics. I also look at the impact of this relationship on Samoa and Samoan education.

3.4 GLOBALISATION AND SAMOA

Globalisation is a multifaceted term, which is perceived differently by some authors in their studies. Some view globalisation as a “process and a result, as well as a science” (Sinagatullin, 2006, p.41). For others, globalisation is about the “transformation of space and time” (Giddens, 1990, p.114), which affects the social, cultural, economic, educational, physiological, physical, and psychological lives of individuals in former colonised, developing and third world nations. These views are reaffirmed by many authors. Weber views globalisation as an “increasing social, economic, financial, cultural, and technological integration of different countries” (2007, p. 280). Chowdhury (2008) interprets the concept differently, suggesting globalisation can be associated with great achievements that bring us to a new phase of civilisation. Weber (2007) views globalisation as an intensification of capitalist market relations, while Chowdhury (2008) refers to globalisation as connecting one place to another, as well as promoting human relations in most colonised and non-colonised nations. The different approaches to globalisation suggest that the term has many interpretations depending on the direction of study. However, all concur that globalisation represents the expansion and intensification of social, cultural, education, economic, and political systems, values, beliefs and ideas that now connect one nation to another.

This study adopts Held’s (2004) and Scholte’s (2000) interpretations of globalisation in post-colonial societies. For Scholte (2000), globalisation is a driver of interdependence, which guarantees that countries become more reliant and dependent upon each other for survival. He explains that “cross-border relations between countries, and the growth in international exchange and interdependence”

(p. 2), strengthen global interdependency and relationships between developed, developing and former colonised nations. Held (2004) adds to this definition by describing globalisation as the expansion, intensification and rapidity of global interconnectedness (p. 67), the deepening of relationships of countries, and increasing interconnectedness of small island nations' norms and values with those of external societies.

Parekh (2004) supports the idea of globalisation, as raised by Scholte (2000), but argues that globalisation is not only limited to economic expansion discourses but also refers to economic effects on other areas such as politics, education and social and cultural life (p.130). Pais (2006) claims that globalisation transforms the “concepts of national identity, and family, employment and traditional ways of living are changing rapidly” (p. 2). Thus, as these authors observe, globalisation impacts every nation and is exhibited primarily through the implementation of new social, cultural, educational and political values and ideas. This study portrays globalisation as accelerating new social, cultural, educational, and political values and ideas, as well as economic growth in Samoa. It changes Samoans' original social and cultural values in their everyday living, as well as their national identity, and replaces these with hybrid social, cultural, and educational values. The transformation in most parts of the Samoan culture has derived from the fast growing need in technology, information, western styles of clothing, western style of food, western knowledge and skills. The social, cultural and educational globalisation in Samoa is unavoidable, and it affects the social and cultural values of people. The most effective parts of globalisation in Samoa have been the rapid flow of global technology, and the media. In addition, the increase in economic developments in developed and developing nations contributes to the spread of globalisation. It acts as a bridge between nations by exporting the values and belief systems of dominant nations to developing and third world nations. In fact, such global flow of technology and media in Samoa causes the “emergence of a specific set of values and beliefs that are largely shared around the world” (Movius, 2010, p. 6). Movius (2010) refers to this transformation of cultural values and beliefs as “Cultural Globalisation” (p. 6), and this is usually driven by the rapid flow of “mass media” (p. 6). For example, images of social and cultural behaviour in Samoa portrayed by the media were disseminated all around the world.

These global social, economic, technology, education, political and cultural changes were to assimilate and to be well place in the education policies. The impact of social and cultural globalisation in Samoa has led to education reform. Through the re-appropriation of these changes into suitable educational policies it is hoped to cater for people's social, culture, education, economic and political interests and needs of indigenous people. In addition, Woessmann (2011) has suggested "for poor countries to produce the skills necessary" (p. 309) for global social, culture, education, technology and economic changes. That is, poor countries' "education policies will have to shift from a focus on school enrolment and attainment to a focus on learning outcome" (Woessmann, 2011, p. 309). Most importantly here is that students acquire the appropriate knowledge and skills to comprehend new global technology, social, culture, economic, education and media.

The global flow of "objects including ideas and ideologies, people and goods, images and messages, technologies and techniques" (Appadurai, 2000, p. 5), called mediascape by Appadurai (1996), contributes to the rapid change in the social, culture and education values, beliefs and ideas in small island, third world and developing nations. Mediascape refers to the "distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information" (p. 35). The exportation of images and pictures of global mediascapes has created cultural tensions in Samoa. This is because Samoan people "construct imagined worlds" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 35) that are incompatible with their own environment. The emergence of these imagined worlds in Samoa have originated from how Samoans perceived information and pictures from mediascapes. In fact, Razak (2011) has suggested that many of these ideas and ways of living "that come along through the media and internet" (p. 65) contradict the way of life and create problems for individuals, especially the younger generations. For instance, the use of the Internet by children is very dangerous due to "websites that display pornography and other unhealthy and unethical information" (p. 65). Some of this information and these images from mediascapes change how Samoans construct their everyday social and cultural life.

Alongside the global social and cultural changes brought by media and technology is the reconstruction of education policies. Ka Ho Mok (2007) explains how globalisation of the economy brings about “the commodification of knowledge” (p. 1). It is this commodification of knowledge by the coloniser that has shaped higher education in Samoa and resulted in a hybrid education system.

The global changes, as described by Appadurai (1996, 2000) and Ka Ho Mok (2007), have helped to formulate a hybrid educational for parallel structure, social, and cultural systems in Samoa. The need for economic expansion and security in small island nations led to many changes in the social, cultural and education systems. Scholte (2003) has argued that the expansion of Western social structures in former colonised nations and around the world has destroyed old traditional and new minority cultures (p. 23). This indicates that economic expansion, internationalisation and interconnectedness between nations somehow continues to change the social, cultural, and educational values of colonised societies, and to reposition how people perceive their society. However, Luke (2005) observes that globalisation in most nation states will not be just about “the competitive production of human capital” (p. xviii). Instead, Luke suggests globalisation is about “maintenance and building of intercultural understandings, social cohesions and identities, and new social and linguistic...” in society (Luke, 2005, p. xviii). These views suggest that globalisation both connects and divides. It helps to build heterogeneous global systems that benefit some, but also disadvantage others through destruction of cultures and languages. As noted by Pais (2006), the “nation state is losing influence relative to global economic pressures, and in some countries there is failure or hesitation to develop social policies” (p. 2). As a result, many people suffer, and are provided with less hope for disadvantaged individuals in society. The rapid global changes in social and cultural activities in some countries are seen as a loss in terms of traditional social and cultural values, beliefs, ideas and practices. That is, these changes lead to problems with generating new social, cultural and education policies that could counter the negative effects of the changes themselves. According to Pais (2006), “all of these changes increase the likelihood that vulnerable people will be exploited” (p. 2), as will be a threat to existing cultures, especially small island and third world countries.

The area of education does not escape the complex impact of globalisation. In fact, education is seen as an area where people get to learn about the new global changes, as well as a site preparing people with knowledge and skills for incoming global changes. As echoed by Sinagatullin (2006), “education is a domain of human activity that is most susceptible to the changes currently occurring world-wide” (p. 73). Kazmi (2005) also suggested that education is an important entity to human activity in a globalised world, and it “promotes a productive and informed citizenry and creates opportunities for the socially and economically underprivileged sections of society” (p. 90). Globalisation has made economic life more complicated and demanding for smaller island nations like Samoa. In fact, only an intelligent workforce with “modern skills may able to comprehend and benefit from exploiting the opportunities by globalisation” (Kazmi, 2005, p. 90).

Others have viewed education as a commodity; something “that is created, grown, produced, or manufactured for exchange on the market” (Benjamin, Johnson, Patrick, Kavanagh, Mattson & Kevin., 2003, p. 45). This study of education policies introduced to smaller island nations suggests that the marketisation of global technology such as the internet, computers and of new knowledge, ideas and skills, has led to education becoming a commodity. People buy computers to improve education. According to Belfield (2000) this marketisation is a risky business if it is uncontrolled. In fact, having no control over these educational products to improve children’s learning can be risky, if children and parents both have little understanding of new technology objectives and aims.

The privatisation of education in Samoa emerges from economic developments around the world, where developed nations have opted to promote education to a higher level. Due to Samoa’s economic infrastructure, the country is unable to fund quality education. The country, therefore, seeks financial assistance from world agencies (World Bank) and other developed nations like New Zealand and Australia. As a consequence, Samoa is obliged to follow policies provided by these places. Thus, in terms of globalisation, there is a new type of intensity, and impact (Held, 1999); further, there is also an openness through the availability of

policies of donor countries, a drive to homogenise the local education system into a larger global system resulting in heterogeneity and an imitation of and convergence of different systems (Marginson, 2006, p. 292).

Globalisation has strengthened the educational, social, cultural, economic and political ties with the former colonisers. New Zealand, Australia, China and Japan continue to support education in Samoa, as well as assisting with economic development. Samoa—as a small underdeveloped nation with a limited economy, limited resources and limited security—may regard globalisation as a means to develop. Currently, Samoa is undergoing developments in its infrastructure through aid assistance. It can be argued that this economic aid serves as a platform for donor countries to promote their ideologies and values. Most economic aid is given to the field of education. Australia and New Zealand donate a hefty amount of money for education in Samoa as well as offering places for top Samoan students in their universities to undertake degrees. The impact of this aid on Samoan education is that the values, beliefs and ideas of the donor countries and world agencies have come into play in Samoan education system.

An additional aspect of globalisation — neo-liberalism — supports educational change in the contemporary age. Neoliberalism is known as the transferring of power of the economy from government to the private sector, in order to produce a more efficient government and improve the economic development of nations (Thorsen & Lie, 2007). In addition, neo-liberal policies favour supply-side innovation and competitiveness; decentralisation; deregulation; and privatisation of industry, land and public services such as schools (Hursh, 2009, p. 3). A significant effect of neoliberal policies is that the level of education must rise to meet the demand for quality skills and knowledge in the workforce.

Neoliberal policies have encouraged Samoa to create closer relationships with developed nations and world agencies. The adoption of neoliberal ideologies in education has made education competitive. Marginson (2006) suggests that neoliberalism in education is a “productivist ideology that shifts the focus from student needs to student performance” (p. 5). The impact of this is that Samoan students from rich families have more chance to do well in education than students from poor families. This is due to a wealth of resources available to rich families and

less for poor families. Neoliberal policies may have raised educational standards, but it has disadvantaged some and benefitted others.

Table 3.1 indicates the amount of money donated by each country to fund the development of education in Samoa. It reveals the amount that New Zealand, Australia, and the JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency), as well as other developed countries, and World organisations have contributed towards improving the standard of education in Samoa. These bodies and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) together with the World Health Organisation (WHO) continue to lend this support every year (MESC, 2006 & Human Development Report, 2006). However, New Zealand and Australia contribute more than UNDP and WHO. This has also become an opportunity for developed nations and private investors to form relationships with Samoa.

Table 3.1

Major donors to education (grants only), FY 2000/01 – 2004/05 (US\$000)

Financial Year	ADB	AUS AID	Canada Fund	EU	JICA	LDS	NZAID	UNDP	WHO	Total
2000/01	820	3430	25	159	93		348	607		8619
2001/02		3431	125	204	748		165	300		4808
2002/03		63	73	138	1309	121				1869
2003/04		14		1031	85		920			2050
2004/05	350	1415			10000		884	551		13200
Total	1170	8353	223	1532	12235	121	5454	1458		30546
Ongoing Yearly		1532					1111	283	412	3338

Source: MESC Education for All (2007), Samoa

This dependency on donor countries had a significant impact on Samoan cultural values and the education system. Little is it realised that the hybridised values, beliefs and ideas of post-colonial Samoa lead to conflicting perspectives. Appadurai (1996) argues that this conflict between values is due to the “tension between cultural homogenisation and cultural heterogeneity” (p. 32). That is, former colonised nations will continue to value their old ways, even though globalisation has significantly changed their social, cultural and educational activities

Zia (2006) has argued that heterogeneous societies create “differences and heterogeneity across countries” (p. 4). She states that this causes tensions and unhappiness amongst people, “whereby some have been able to take advantage of new opportunities, while others have encountered more obstacles” (p. 4). In summary, many countries will benefit from the formation of hybrid systems, while some countries like Samoa will continue to suffer because of limited resources and because people are unskilled and lack formal education/training.

To combat the inequality that comes with the formation of heterogeneous societies, Edwards (2005) has proposed that education must provide appropriate training to cater for the social, cultural, political, and economical needs, interests and values of a heterogeneous society. That is, the “educational aspects of such heterogeneity are obviously of great importance” (Edwards, 2005, p. 14). Edwards states that, to benefit from globalisation, heterogeneous nations must learn to comprehend the blending of social, cultural and political values, beliefs and ideas. The next section will be a discussion of the positive and negative impacts of globalisation in Samoa.

3.4.1 Positive impact of globalisation on education in Samoa

Globalisation has brought both positive and negative elements to Samoan education. The advent of the current hybrid system is seen by most as a positive step. In Samoa, MESC (2006) policies promote hybrid education structures. This means curriculum policies value “indigenous and global knowledge ... within a bilingual language structure that develops existing knowledge, skills and values” (p. 38). Samoan curriculum policies, as indicated by MESC (2006), emphasise the importance of an ongoing *faa’samoa* (Samoan way): “community, families and parents playing a large role in the education of students” (p. 38). The integration of the *faa’samoa* and universal values reaffirms the mixing and blending of universal and local values. These educational intentions and purposes, as laid out by MESC, are also supported by scholars such as Green (2006), who states that education “promotes national values and culture as a source of social cohesion and national solidarity” (p. 195). The implications are that including Samoan values and creating

a hybrid education system contributes to the provision of suitable educational activities for indigenous Samoans.

The aim of education for most Samoan parents and the nation is to nurture global knowledge as a way of improving the family's and the nation's economic situation. The upgrading of technology and the restructuring of the educational curriculum is an attempt to embrace global economic and educational changes in Samoa. The educational aim of most Samoans is for a better life in a heterogeneous Samoa. This aim has existed for Samoans since the beginning of colonisation in Samoa. However, the emergence of globalisation in Samoa re-ignites this social and economic dream for individuals and the nation. That is, the impact of globalisation on education is expected to help families, villages, churches and the general economic development of the country.

The current Samoan education system relies on quality teacher education. This training appropriates globalised knowledge in relation to technology. Teacher education policy advocates that teacher trainees acquire a full understanding of their social and cultural Samoan values along with western values. Thus, the aims and purposes of teacher education in Samoa is to provide a hybrid teacher educational training, for both pre and in-service teachers, the aim being to infuse the pedagogical process with universal and national values (Sinagatullin, 2006).

Globalisation has also changed the learning and teaching provided in teachers' college in Samoa. Teaching and learning in colleges is now more about the global changes in social, culture, economic, politics and so forth. This is where Samoan students tend to learn about the world in comparison to the social and cultural living situations in Samoa. Bacchus (2006) argues that a professional and suitable educational process aims to "prepare students for higher order thinking ...facilitate their acquisition of knowledge, experiences, and attitudes" (p. 82). Globalisation lifts the standard of education and connects traditional and new ideas.

After witnessing global economic attractions in resources and materials, many Samoans now place their children in high quality schools. Samoans are not in any position to resist the benefits offered by globalisation if they hope to acquire the

skills needed for a better job. As indicated by Moore (2002), “attending better schools gets you a better job and a better income” (p. 216). This investment in children’s education has impacted on tertiary entrance rates. The following tables indicate an improvement in hybrid education for many Samoans. Table 3.2 shows that the number of students from years 2004 to 2010 that enrolled in tertiary education has risen. There was a slight drop in the years 2005, 2008 and 2009, but attendance increased dramatically in 2010. This shows how much Samoans value the importance of western education in their lives. This rate shows that Samoans continue to value education as a way to embrace social, cultural, economic global changes.

Table 3.2

Transition Rate - from Year 13 to identified Tertiary Education

Year	Enrolment in Year 13	Total Tertiary Enrolment	Transition Rate from Year 13 to Tertiary
2004	1752	793	49
2005	1584	825	47
2006	1756	910	57
2007	1652	913	52
2008	1657	894	54
2009	1669	750	45
2010	1853	1177	64

Source: NUS Samoan National Human Development Report (2006), Samoa.

Table 3.3

Graduates from the NUS in main programme, 2000-2004

Programmes	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Dip. Arts	15	17	10	12	14
B. Arts	18	19	19	14	24
Cert. Commerce	51	82	29	45	38
Dip. Commerce	24	44	36	36	22
B. Commerce	19	29	42	53	38
Cert. Science	17	10	5	9	6
Cert. Computing	12	9	17	10	10
Dip. Computing	5	10	5	6	13
Cert. Maths	1	-	2	3	-
Dip. Maths	3	-	-	-	-
B. Science	1	4	2	3	5
Dip. Education	71	59	63	56	57
B. Education	-	-	-	6	6
Dip. Nursing	5	7	9	29	18
B. Nursing	-	5	5	28	20

Source: NUS Samoan National Human Development Report (2006), Samoa.

Table 3.3 shows an increase in the number of people who graduated with different qualifications from the National University of Samoa (NUS). Clearly, the National University of Samoa (NUS) has contributed tremendously towards preparing the nation's citizens to be part of a competitive and globalised workforce. As a post-colonial society, Samoan people tend to be attracted by the Western style of living. Samoa has an education system that generates western knowledge and skills, along with a reaffirmation of Samoan values; bringing hybrid social, cultural, and educational development in a post-colonial society.

The aim of the Samoan government is to nurture this hybrid education system, so that children are educated with global knowledge and skills. As indicated by Green (2006):

The majority of countries' governments still see education as a process of nation-building which involves both economic and social objectives. Education systems are still national institutions devoted, in varying degrees, to the preparation of future workers and the formation of future citizens. (p. 194)

Some Samoan students in Western societies have to think, speak, interpret and translate with a Western mindset as a way of surviving academically, socially, and culturally. In parallel with the competitive Samoan environment, people must learn to acquire global knowledge, skills in order to survive.

3.4.2 Negative impacts of globalisation

Although many Samoans see the hybrid system as positive, researchers also point out the negatives impact of globalisation on education. Sinagatullin (2006) asserts that the negative impact of globalisation on education is the "destruction of national systems of education" (p. 80). This includes the removing of indigenous traditional folk pedagogy, as well as replacing traditional language with Western language (p. 80). The emergence of globalisation changes indigenous ways of

teaching, as well as alienating indigenous people from their social and cultural heritage. Some participants suggest that, as the system is dominated by Western values, beliefs and ideas, some Samoan children whose educational knowledge and skills are incompatible will be left behind.

Findings from Fielder's (2006) study describe indigenous minorities as lagging behind Western knowledge due to their own social, cultural and economic weaknesses. According to Fielder (2006), indigenous minorities, like the urban poor and the underclass, are often marginalised in the post-colonial era because of their lack of Western knowledge, minority status and limited resources. Clearly, while globalisation has had some positive impacts by promoting an education system that aligns with the rest of the world, there are negative impacts of the hybrid system.

Many Samoan students manage to assimilate into the western value system. Many successfully mimic western academic ways and ideas, as they perceive the western value system as the means to achieve success in the present, post-colonial, globalised Samoan society. However, it is at this meeting of Western educational life and Samoan students where the contradictions with Samoan cultural values begin. The young generation are the most affected by western values and at the same time, the nation's hope for the continuation of Samoan traditions in the future.

In a globalised world, traditions are diluted and many Samoan cultural values and beliefs are overturned. As argued by Appadurai (1996), the main issue is, "the tension between cultural homogenisation and cultural heterogenisation" (p. 127). Globalisation forces the incorporation of many social, cultural, economic, political, and educational changes to Samoans' living situations. As argued by Maliko (2006):

Economic developments also accelerated changes in traditional lifestyles. ... such as tourist centres are set up in traditional village communities. ... This has threatened cultural and church taboos. ... The curfews during evening devotions seem to slip off, especially in areas where these tourist industries are set up. (p. 113)

As a result of changes due to the negative impacts of globalisation, as stated by Maliko (2006) above, there is a conflict between the negative impacts of globalisation and the cultural and religious values of the Samoan people. This has

become a major complexity in Samoa in relation to everything that is usually known as *fa'asamoa*. People eventually change their ways of living to ways that are unfamiliar to the *fa'asamoa*.

Education in Samoa needs to re-examine the significance of Samoan values in collaboration with the modern expectations that are brought about by globalisation. The presence of many new *sub-cultures* (half-caste, Indian, European, Chinese, Germans, Tokelauans, and Tuvaluans etc) in Samoa highlights a heterogeneous society. Despite their problematic nature, Samoans need to adapt and assimilate this society to combat its negative undertone. The impact of globalisation on education in Samoa is also demonstrated through the rise in numbers of educators from abroad living in Samoa to assist with the educational reforms. This not only transforms the Samoan education system to the likes of the outside world, but changes the way people interact and behave in society. As described by Janet Pereira (2005):

We are all an increasingly globalised people, constituted by multiple experiences and identities. As Ana Taufe'ulungaki observed (2001, cited in Pereira 2005) some Pacific people have so deeply internalised Western paradigms that they perceive the world around them from Western perspective. (p. 5)

Through globalisation, western ideologies have dominated indigenous education. To improve economic and security conditions, Samoa has embraced western type education. This articulates the effectiveness of globalisation over small island nations, where people and their society must adapt in order to survive in a competitive globalised environment.

3.5 CONCLUSION

As Luke (2005) states, “the normative answers for education systems might indeed be blended, hybrid and laminated” (p. xvii). While the Samoan education system has been hybridised, Samoan cultural values are caught in the middle of hybridisation and heterogenisation. Social, cultural, education and political values are no longer homogeneous but somehow become heterogeneous.

This chapter has discussed how globalisation in post-colonialism has added more changes to the social, cultural and educational situations of Samoan people. Globalisation introduced many changes in social, cultural, educational, economic and political values, ideas and beliefs emerge in post-colonialism. Post-colonialism in Samoa is a time of re-appropriation, re-contextualisation and re-conceptualisation of Samoan cultural values in every aspects of life, such as in social, politics and education after imperialism and colonialism.

Despite the disappearance of colonial forces, their imperceptible presence has always been in the background, manifested through the way people speak and act in their educational activities: Gandhi (1998) reveals that everything the former colonised nations do will always remind them of European colonisation. The presence of the coloniser's values continues to reside in the structure and organisation of the former colonised nations' social, cultural and educational system. Colonised nations will always have a sense of belonging to a 'third space' or 'hybrid' position. This does not need to be conceived as a lower place, but as a place defined by the post-colonised that, in their eyes, is a place in which they are comfortable and can develop, rather than in their colonised space where they were and are dominated and have little chance of empowerment and freedom.

The first three chapters set the foundation of this thesis, discussing the past and current situation of the education system and of teacher education in Samoa, and how existing global education issues correlate with the appropriate application of cultural values or the lack thereof. In doing so, a chronological exploration of Samoa's social, cultural and education history from pre-missionary time to present, and how traditional values have been carried through from generation to generation. The idea was to present a clear understanding of the social, cultural and educational changes from homogeneous to heterogeneous society that now accommodate the many different cultures situated in Samoa. Moreover, the discussion of hybridity by Bhabha (1994) clarifies the current social, cultural and education situations in Samoa, where Samoan cultural values are currently practiced alongside universal values, which symbolises an ongoing colonial influence in the operation and organisation of the social, cultural and education developments in Samoa. The next chapter will outline the research methodology. It will highlight standpoint theory and the indigenous qualitative research methodology used in this study.

Chapter 4: **METHODOLOGY RESEARCH DESIGN**

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Previous chapters framed the broader context and provided viewpoints from within the framework of Samoan cultural values and teacher education. The implications therein give rise to a conceptual explanation about the significant role of Samoan cultural values in the conservation and sustainability of Samoan values in education. The study not only conceptualises the complex processes involved, but also attempts to model the knowledge, skills and values of the *matuaauu* (master of weavers) and the *au seepapa* (weavers). The methodological theories and ideologies merge beneath the extensive structure of the phenomenology of the fine mat and narrative inquiry, integrating a weave of related literature with the research findings.

The indigenous approach proposed for this study is based on the oral tradition of Samoan culture in relation to (conversation) *talanoa* and *nofo* (sitting). Standpoint theory, in this study, allows Samoan Indigenous perspectives to converge with global issues, now situated in a postcolonial Samoan society. The study is based on this weaving metaphor (O'Reagan, 2006), where the voices of the participants and literature are interwoven with the relevant theories situated in this study.

Standpoint theory is utilised in this study to confirm and protect the views and opinions of the participants in this research. The responses and interpretation produced by the researcher and the subject become the participant's standpoint. Standpoint theory derives from the work of feminists such as Smith (1987), hooks (1990) and Harding (1991), who have described the interests, needs and concerns of women of all races in regards to their exclusion from political and educational fields in the past and the present. That is, women's experiences of exclusion contributed to a desire to shape a research paradigm where women's perspectives are centred. In this study, standpoint theory will represent indigenous voices and their opinions gathered from focus group discussions, interviews and questionnaires through the indigenous research methods of *talanoa* and *nofo*. The Samoan version of *talanoa*

and *nofo* methods, both of which have derived from the Pacific Island educators' work, have proven very effective and socio-culturally appropriate for Pacific, as well as Samoan researchers (Helu-Thaman, 2004; Silipa, 2004; Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999; Vaiolleti, 2006).

The dynamics of the socio-cultural methodology framework formulated here seek to [re]affirm the study's standpoint. Therefore any description and explanation made needs to be closely responsive to the study's research questions. Conceptually, the method used in the study mirrors the operation of Samoan weaving of the fine mat (*ietoga*). In Samoa, mats are made from selected pandanus long leaves that women collect and cut. The leaves are soaked in boiled water, then dried and bleached under the hot sun (O'Reagan, 2006). After drying, the leaves are collected by a group of women (*auauma*) and slit into thin strips for weaving. The women collaborate to weave the mats and share stories and life experiences as they weave. The completion of the fine mat requires a big ceremony, where respect, dignity and integrity of the weavers and their origins is celebrated.

Similar to mat-making, the researcher undertakes to weave different stories from participants towards formulating a Samoan indigenous standpoint on the relevance of Samoan cultural values in teacher education practices. Data from participants are seen as strands of pandanu leaves interwoven with one another to formulate a fine mat participants have selected to share their life experiences. Through *talanoa* and *nofo*, which is indigenous standpoint, this study undertakes a fine weaving of different indigenous perspective on the relevance of Samoan cultural values in teacher education.

While Indigenous standpoint will be used to set the context for data collection, the data itself will be analysed using qualitative case analysis. The method of analysis will followed a 'cyclic process' model designed by Sarantankos (2000). The model contains the three stages that a researcher must undertake to achieve effective and valid results: data reduction, data organisation and data interpretation. Neuman's typology model will be used for the analysis of these findings. Neuman's analytic approaches — 'analytic comparison' and 'cultural analysis' — complement the Sarantakos' cyclic model for analysing the data. After data reduction, organisation and interpretation by Sarantakos methodology will then be tested by

Neuman's analytic comparison and cultural analysis to verify its relevancy and validity to the aims and purpose of the study. The method of data analysis will be further explored later in this chapter.

4.2 STANDPOINT THEORY

Standpoint theory centres on the epistemology of cultural groups who have been subordinated, providing a mechanism through which their truths and insights can be foregrounded. It is a theory of justice based on the premise that only people of a particular race will understand and be able to explain the social, cultural and educational frameworks and outcomes of their own society. In addition, standpoint theory proposes ways to uplift and validate subordinate groups' position in society. Standpoint theory creates opportunities for different cultural groups to reveal their history, geography, psychology, social and cultural interests, needs, beliefs, ideas and values.

Standpoint theory, as defined by Kenney and Kinsella (1997), involves "groups having shared histories based on their shared locations in relations of power—standpoints arise neither from crowds of individuals nor from groups analytically created by scholars and bureaucrats" (p. 37). It empowers individuals to voice their opinion on issues of cultural diversity in society. As Hekman (1997) asserts, "Standpoint Theory allows us to go beneath the surface of appearances to reveal the real but concealed social relations" (p. 344). In particular, standpoint theory argues for and claims equality and fairness in the representation of indigenous epistemology in education. Thus it provides a friendlier atmosphere, offering people knowledge based on their cultural ideologies and methodologies.

Different minority groups, genders and races may have problems that are masked by their powerless position in society, where their societal interests and expectations have gone unnoticed, as has their contribution to the development of society. Additionally, those in minority groups, who fail to match the expectations of the dominant groups in society, face social, cultural, physical and economic difficulties. Their future prospects may not be realised, and they may face continuous problems in their home countries. Standpoint theory has the potential to provide hope

for disadvantaged communities, highlighting their inner strengths and fostering self-determination towards a better life situation. In addition, standpoint theory represents justice that allows the disadvantaged minority groups in the societies of former colonised nations the opportunity to voice their educational, political, cultural and social concerns while situated in this hybrid space. In relation to this study, standpoint theory is used to explain the disparity between Samoan values and their position in Western education. Standpoint theory will allow the voices of indigenous Samoan educators and elders, who participated in this study, to explain and justify the importance of Samoan values in education, social and cultural activities.

4.2.1 Feminist standpoint theory position in the study.

Standpoint theory has been taken up by feminists in its ability to give voice to those previously silenced. According to Harding (1991), feminist standpoint theorists focus on gender differences between women and men and their situations in society (p.120). Harding also points out that standpoint theory for feminists provides more opportunities for individuals to develop and strengthen their educational, political, cultural and social goals in life. It helps to explain the capabilities and strengths of women in all areas of society. This has made feminist standpoint theory more prominent and targeted towards supporting women's rights in society. In fact, standpoint theory advocates for women's rights and affiliation in politics, economics, education, culture and socialisation in society. Indeed, feminist standpoint theory maintains the belief that it is not about our general knowledge of the world, but more about situated knowledge and the constructed perspective of issues surrounding our everyday lives in society. Harding (1991) suggested that, standpoint theories are "...not just opinions but also where a culture's best beliefs—what it calls knowledge—are socially situated" (p.120). In particular, Harding (1991) refers to women from her own standpoint and argues that it is in the culture of women that women are able to understand and contextualise their lives more accurately than anyone else. Therefore, adopting a standpoint allows women to exhibit who they are in real life in terms of their beliefs, ideas and values. As stated by Walby (2001):

Standpoint Theory was intended to help create an intellectual space for feminist analysis...and was particularly related to the consciousness-raising groups used by the women's movement to develop a specifically feminist knowledge. (cited in Ho & Schrauer 2004, p. 4)

Standpoint theory describes how people produce and understand their own ideas, beliefs and values situated within their own society. That is a process based on feminist ‘epistemology’ since:

The adoption of a particular feminist standpoint allows us to gain a less partial and perverse understanding of the world; but that does not mean we have achieved truth. To begin with, the confluence of a variety of feminist standpoints reveals different pieces of a larger picture. (Hirschmann, 1997, p. 79)

Therefore, standpoint theory provides a space for women to reveal their perception about the world and how it relates to women. The terms ‘women’s standpoint’ and ‘women’s perspective’ are often used interchangeably, and ‘women’s perspective’ suggests the actual perspective of actual women—what they can in fact see” (Harding, 1991, p. 123). Above all, the emergence of standpoint theory became an avenue for women to claim equality in society.

Utilising a predominantly feminist perspective that is embedded in standpoint theory will help to unravel multiple perspectives in this study. Feminists, such as Harding (1991), hooks (1990) and Smith (1987), Hartstock (1983) and Rose (1983) employ standpoint theory to highlight their gendered positions in society. Their insights regarding their own gender position has changed society’s views about women, providing women with opportunities to fight for their rights in society, as well as allowing equal access to all social, cultural and political activities in society. A revised standpoint theory focuses on cultural differences, between the subordinated and dominant cultures. Moreover, it provides an insight into the reality of life regarding conflicts and problems amongst people.

One of standpoint theory’s premises, derived from the philosophy of Harding (1991) and Smith (1987) on post-modern conditions, is that situated knowledge (standpoint) and anecdotes from both myths and biographies, have as much truth in them as scientific theory. For me, as the researcher, it authenticates my standpoint and history; it acknowledges my first hand access to a particular kind of truth,

insights, and narratives that have significance compared to that of a research method which embraces Western theories and practices.

Harding (1991) argues for the recognition and acknowledgement of women for their contribution to the betterment of society. She states that women do not have a “voice of authority in stating their own condition” (Harding, 1991, p. 106), but depend on males for direction and decision-making. Harding’s own standpoint is that women have a place and voice in society. Women’s contributions to the development of society have been their responsibilities in the home, church, government and village. Both Harding (1991) and hooks (1990) indicate that no one tells a better story about women than women themselves. These writers employ standpoint theory as a tool to argue their position in society. For instance, Harding (1995) argues that, “standpoint theory [can] identify the political assumptions, values and interests of research, [and enhance] the objectivity of knowledge claims” (p. 17). Standpoint theory has shown its significances through promoting feminists’ claim in world knowledge; that is, by recognising feminist ideologies and methodologies in research.

Other feminists such as hooks (1990) write about the hardship of black women in America. hooks’ used standpoint theory to explicitly display her anger and frustration over the mistreatment of black women in society. She tells a story about segregation and oppression that in America has revolutionised society’s point of view about women of all races. She indicates that the notion of women narrating women’s stories is a way of reinstating women’s place and their traditional values in society. Standpoint theory provides people with an understanding of life history that others may find applicable to their own society. Women’s experiences of struggle can be compared with the current problems that indigenous educators are now encountering in the academic world. Therefore, the utilisation of standpoint theory gives indigenous educators an opportunity to voice their educational, social and cultural difficulties.

4.2.2 Indigenous Standpoint and Education in Samoa

For the purposes of this study, standpoint theory is a tool to clarify my own standpoint towards the current educational problems in Samoa. That is, standpoint theory, as argued by feminist theorists, provides the ‘alternative’ space to put

forward insiders' feelings and opinions in context. Similarly, this study uses standpoint theory to argue for equality against the suppression of indigenous people within education systems and policies. Indigenous epistemology is linked to standpoint theory and is utilised to specify the problems of the current education situation in Samoa; it is a narrative regarding the experiences of living in Samoa, as a Samoan. Standpoint theory will help to highlight the ideologies in Samoan society that are integral to the organisation, creation and formulation of education, politics, and social and cultural life. The notion of free expression of opinion, resultant from standpoint theory, awakens a new era for many indigenous educators to push for improvement in education for future generations in the Pacific.

Historically, the only standpoint that had existed was that of the dominant cultures. Only recently has the history of small island nations, in terms of their views and opinions, been heard. This is largely due to the advocacy of the human rights movement. From this change, the negligence towards indigenous perspectives in education has been revealed as an exclusion of rights and a misrepresentation of indigenous cultural values, ideas and beliefs. Samoan history, sociology, education, politics and anthropology that was written and constructed by the outside world, is now in the process of being refurbished and rewritten to illustrate indigenous standpoint. Some leading Pacific scholars have used standpoint theory, examining whether there are any of their own (indigenous) ways of learning that are significant to the Western educational system. Writers, including Thaman (1997), Smith (1999), Afamasaga (2002), Pereira (2005) and Vaoleti (2006), have all contributed to the clarification of issues regarding education in the Pacific.

Key thinkers in the Pacific today are engaged in Rethinking Education in the Pacific. This is a project conducted by the University of the South Pacific (USP) in Fiji, where educators from various island nations share and develop theories and methods that best suit learning and teaching behaviours of indigenous peoples in their own communities. In other words, Pacific educators are tasked with researching alternative perspectives that will be used to develop a more hybrid educational system that best represents indigenous values, beliefs and ideas in a Western education system.

Other indigenous educators who have contributed to the educational argument are Smith (1999) and Vaioleti (2006). Both argue the importance of using indigenous research methodology to conduct research in an indigenous environment. As Smith (1999) explains, being excluded from the establishment of ideology, of knowledge, and of culture as an indigenous researcher means that our experience, our interests, our ways of knowing the world have not been represented in the organisations that rule us, nor in the systematically developed knowledge that has entered into it (Smith, 1999, p. 17).

Drawing on Smith's (1999) study on 'Decolonising Methodologies', this study is structured to draw on indigenous narratives on traditional issues that associate with global issues in Samoa education. Smith's (1999) study argues for the relevancy and validity of Maori research methodology in doing research. According to Smith (1999):

Some methodologies regard the values and beliefs, practices and customs of communities as 'barriers' to research or as exotic customs with which researchers need to be familiar in order to carry out their work without causing offence; indigenous methodologies tend to approach cultural protocols, values and behaviours, as an integral part of methodology. (p. 15)

Smith (1999) illustrates that Western research methodologies need to have some familiarity with traditional formalities and societal settings before participants can provide information. An indigenous researcher is, as a result, best suited and experiences fewer complications, due to their long-term participation and immersion in cultural activities. In particular, Smith (1999) strongly argues that indigenous researchers are more knowledgeable of their own environment and therefore present more thorough and substantial research results.

Smith (1999) claims that "indigenous communities probably know more than the dominant Western community about issues raised by the Human Genome Diversity Project, for example, or the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) agreement" (p. 16). Smith has looked deeply into indigenous knowledge as a way of 'Sharing Knowledge' rather than 'Sharing Information'. Indigenous people are used to telling stories to provide their views on local and global issues. Furthermore, Smith notes:

I use the term ‘sharing knowledge’ deliberately, rather than the term ‘sharing information’ because to me the responsibility of researchers and academics is not simply to share surface information but to share the theories and analyses which inform the way knowledge and information are constructed and represented. (Smith 1999, p. 16)

This approach emphasises the importance of content rather than solely focusing on the methodology of collecting data. It also provides more forms of knowledge towards the organisation of collecting data while doing research using an indigenous methodology.

As indicated by Vaiolati (2006) in his discussion of an indigenous research methodology of *Talanoa*, “a personal encounter where people story tell their issues, their realities and aspirations, allows more information to be available for Pacific research than data derived from other research methods” (p. 21). This method of research is an indigenous way of gathering information; using storytelling and allowing the participants to speak without constraints. In other words, participants have the freedom and space to voice their own rules and regulations. Rigney and Worby (2006), also highlights the importance of hearing multiple stories, asserting that:

The sum of the stories is the sum of all that is known. Complete knowledge is not held by any individual. Rather, the community has a consciousness; the community is fully savvy only so long as the members of the group know how to integrate, through narrative ceremonies, into something greater than an association of individual personalities (p. 11).

Therefore, using indigenous standpoint theory allows the researcher to reveal the knowledge that is right and significant in their community. It provides indigenous participants with a space to share their stories in a safe, familiar environment. It is important to note that adopting standpoint methodology does not imply a subjective account of the truth and reality. Indeed, claims about indigenous traditional beliefs are valid when indigenous people begin to narrate their own stories. For instance, if indigenous traditional ways of communication and researching are in place, then data can be recorded successfully.

Our elder's stories were our earliest maps and fictions; they were a view of the dimensions, geography, values, morality and aspirations of the world and way of life we were born into. It was a world in which everything was one process: the web that was the individual person was inseparable from the web of 'aiga/village/tribe, which was inseparable from the web of atua and the elements and the universe. And in that process everything was endowed with the sacred or mana. (Wendt, 1989, p.65, cited in Silipa, 2004, p. 271)

Indigenous standpoint theory collects the past and the present and reconstructs previous indigenous stories that have been gathered by earlier, Western, researchers for clarity. That is, standpoint theory also provides the rights to indigenous educators for this particular space or hybridity, theorised by Bhabha as the third space. This third space offers the opportunity for hitherto unknown issues to be recognised, and for indigenous educators to claim the rights to the stories told by indigenous elders and communities.

Standpoint theory in this study represents the views and opinions of indigenous educators who have lent their voices in support of this research. Standpoint theory is also an important theory whereby researchers and educators promote their views towards issues and topics that contradict their social, cultural, educational and political positions in society. Thus it decontextualises previous debates over indigenous social, cultural, education and political positions and conceptualises new visions and thoughts that best suit indigenous post-colonial situations in a former colonised society.

Standpoint theory is not just about the current conditions of the human race in society, but is also a way of looking at the future. Standpoint theory's point of view coincides with post-colonial theory, and both these theories support changes and the enquiry into re-contextualising and re-conceptualising indigenous ways of living to coincide with global changes.

4.3 AIM OF THE STUDY

The aim of this field research study is to investigate the relevance of Samoan cultural values in the current teacher education practices. The choice to research this topic was made based on concerns about the behaviour and performance of student teachers in the classroom, in terms of cooperation with other staff members, maturity and etiquette. The lack of appropriate behaviour (such as respecting their relationship

with their lecturers and other students) has raised many concerns and questions for myself as a Samoan, as well as a teacher educator who is responsible for the training of these future Samoan teachers. From my standpoint as an indigenous teacher educator, I began to develop some research ideas about the ways Samoans used to live, and how they succeeded and failed in life in relation to education, socialisation, culture, colonisation, modernisation and globalisation.

As an indigenous Samoan, we have been nurtured and moulded by our parents from a very young to an old age. Parents are the foundation of their children's social, cultural and educational life. Although this is a common belief in many societies, Samoa in particular has unique child-rearing traditions. Specifically, Samoa's chiefly system requires all children to acquire respectable manners at a very young age, such as obeying and respecting their parents. Parents are responsible for their children acquiring such manners. This understanding of a good family life derives from many years of my Samoan experiences living in a culturally oriented environment.

The emerging development of student teachers' disrespectful behaviours is something that is incompatible with Samoan child rearing in the home. For instance, most student teachers' display unwanted behaviours that they do not practice in their homes. However, poor retention and disrespecting lecturers', tutors' and Faculty of Education (FoE) regulations continues. The problems that has been encountered by FoE lecturers' with students' today were not seen with Samoan students' during my schooling days. Empirical evidence gathered from my own life experiences and previous research studies have compelled me to undertake this study.

In order to study Samoan cultural values in society, this research has looked at Gardner's research study. Gardner's (1965) research was on the relevance of Samoan cultural values between people's interaction in the home and village. However, Gardner's (1965) early study documents the behaviours of children while staying in a chief's (*matai*) home. It presented findings on how children behaved while interacting with adults in different Samoan settings, such as around adults during social and cultural gatherings. She revealed that respect and obedience were valued by both children and adults in the Samoan culture.

In Samoa, young adults expect to learn and acquire the importance of Samoan cultural values from a young age. These Samoan cultural behaviours should be displayed at all times when Samoan people of all ages are involved with social, cultural and education activities. Gardner's (1965) study of Samoan values in a Samoan village show that her study investigated the relevance of Samoan cultural values in the relationship between children and adults. This study adds to work that has been done by Gardner (1965) by examining the impact of colonialism and globalisation on Samoan cultural values.

The research problem was selected after discussions with educators in the field and emerged from my interest in examining aspects of the value system that are familiar to all Samoans. This also means examining Samoan customs and life situations from different aspects of *fa'a-samoa*. This does not ignore the fact that society changes and new ideologies exist in Samoa. Heterogeneity—where one culture tends to contain many aspects of life that people adopt to suit their living situations—is recognised and valued. Samoa is slowly becoming a heterogeneous culture, adopting ways of living that reflect a more contemporary lifestyle.

My own view of Samoan cultural values has impacted on this study. I wanted to understand how family background, peer relationships, global technology, Western influences and families returning from overseas impact upon student teachers' in Samoa. These ideas and thoughts emerged in response to my enquiries about the relevance of Samoan cultural values to the educational development of student teachers in Samoa.

This study aims to investigate the current problems in teacher education in Samoa. Therefore it examines Samoan cultural values in modern society. These values are embedded in Samoan life, yet do not appear to play a significant part in educational policy or reality in Samoa.

4.4 DATA COLLECTION

Information regarding the development of this project derives from empirical research data published in the Policy and Strategic Plan of the Ministry of Education,

Sports and Culture in Samoa (MESC, 2006). In a similar vein, a research study⁷ was also carried out in 2007 (MESC & NUS, 2007), from an indigenous standpoint, to examine whether or not policy development concurs with previous empirical research outcomes. In fact, a collaborative team of five researchers from MESC and the National University of Samoa were involved in a research project examining Samoan educational values, whereby data collection was conducted in 25 primary schools from both islands of Samoa (Upolu and Savaii) (Eteuati, Silipa & Tuia, 2007). Later, further research was conducted by three lecturers from the Faculty of Education, National University of Samoa (Ah Chong, Funealii & Tuia, 2008). This research involved only principals of primary and secondary schools, including government, private and mission schools. The purpose was to investigate principals' attitudes towards new teachers graduated from the Faculty of Education (FoE).

The motive behind the research was based on the many complaints that came back to the Faculty of Education (FoE) regarding new teachers' behaviour in their schools.⁸ The complaints referred to the new Samoan teachers' conduct in schools, and pointed out the teachers' indifference to Samoan values (Ah Chong, Funealii & Tuia, 2008). For instance, some principals claimed that some new teachers disrespected senior staff members, disobeyed school rules and regulations, had poor dress codes, did not attend to their classes or arrived late to school. These behaviours are not acceptable in Samoan culture, and many families and villages do not tolerate such behaviour in any situation.

The problems that were reported by principals have become a major concern for the Faculty of Education (FoE), which is now faced with the question of where

⁷ This is a collaborative research study between the Faculty of Education (FoE) from the National University of Samoa (NUS) and the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (MESC) that I was involved with. The aim of this research was to investigate whether Samoan values continue to be important in the educational lives of Samoan students. It was also another way to ascertain whether the values stated in the MESC policies are followed by these schools. Researchers from the Faculty of Education were Tagataese Tupu Tuia and Niusila Faamanatu-Eteuati (2007).

⁸ This research was conducted by three (3) lecturers from the Faculty of Education after numerous complaints from school principals and teachers about new teachers' attitudes in school. The research was on principals' perceptions of local trained teachers in comparison to overseas trained teachers. Researchers in the study are Dr Lake Ah Chong, Tagataese Tupu Tuia and Funealii Lumaava Soaemalagali (2008).

the education system has failed. Faculties are now looking at how Samoan culture is being incorporated into the teacher education system.

The results of this analytical process will provide information to determine whether Samoan cultural values are to respected in the tertiary teacher education system. Therefore, the research methodology (*talanoa and nofo*) similar to that used by the Ministry of Education (MESC and NUS, 2007) and Faculty of Education (FoE) will be adopted in this research.

Indigenous research tools or methods of data collection were carefully selected to ensure the legitimacy of data collected. Two methods of qualitative data gathering, namely *talanoa* and *nofo*, were implemented. These methods will be explored explicitly under qualitative data gathering methods.

4.5 THE SAMPLE

The first group of participants for *talanoa* and *nofo* were 20 student teachers from the FoE. The first group of 10 students were those who entered the FoE Foundation programme. The second subject of 10 student teachers came to the (FoE) under the mature entrance criteria component. The selection of student teachers for this research depended on who was available to take part in *talanoa* and *nofo* sessions. These teacher trainees (20 participants) were asked to complete questionnaires and participate in focus group discussions. There were 10 open and closed questions, to which participants answered either 'yes' or 'no', or explained their responses. Student teachers were free to take home their questionnaires so that they could have more time to work on them. The questionnaires were to be returned by participants within one week of receiving the questionnaires. After collecting questionnaires from student teachers, a follow up focus group was set for the discussion of these questionnaires. This discussion was divided into two groups of 10 mature age students and 10 former foundation student teachers.

The second group of 10 participants were selected from teachers and principals who had been teaching in primary schools. This group of eight primary teachers and two principals were divided into two groups of five. The first group of four teachers and one principal was from a primary school in the local town area. This group included two teachers who had studied in the FoE (Faculty of

Education), and two teachers and a principal from Malifa Teachers College. The second group of four teachers and one principal was from a school in a rural village. The school had two teachers that came through the FoE, and other two teachers originated from the Malifa Teachers College. In addition, the principal in this school had graduated from Malifa Teachers College and later on from the FoE. The aim for this arrangement was to collect teacher reflections about their experiences with Samoan cultural values and the differences between teachers who experienced their teacher training in the FoE and those who experienced their training at the Teachers College at Malifa.

The third group of five participants consisted of lecturers from the Faculty of Education at the National University of Samoa who have 10 and more years of secondary, primary and tertiary teaching experiences. This group of lecturers was asked to participate in a focus group discussion. The last group of six participants for *talanoa* and *nofo* were Samoan academic and cultural leaders who served the country in different fields. These participants were interviewed.

Finally, data was collected from an analysis of the Policy, Strategic and Plan 2006-2015 by the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture, and missionaries' and historians' records. The main analytical techniques used were situated readings and reading policy texts against texts about Samoan values in general. In this case, document analysis was used. The document analysis required critical reading and discourse analysis of documents relating to Samoan cultural values. That was to assess the validity and practicability of education policies already developed. In fact, the focus of this analytic methodology was to make a comparative analysis of the education policies and historical documents of Samoan history recorded by missionaries and historians. The significance of the study was about education and Samoan cultural values; therefore, sites for data collection were selected due to their imminence and relevance to the chosen research topic. A sample as large as this was appropriate to this research study. That is due to the many cultural obstacles that must be taken into consideration when making an inquiry about the appropriateness and inappropriateness of cultural values in a Western type system (education).

The study was an inquiry into the relevance of Samoan cultural values in teacher education practices. Therefore, it was appropriate to seek the opinion of student teachers, because of their current association with teacher education. In particular, the aim was to follow up whether these student teachers were able to identify Samoan values that they must display in the University. It was also appropriate to ask for in-service teachers' opinion, due to their relationship with new teachers graduated from the FoE. For this reason, primary and secondary schools strongly emphasise the importance of Samoan cultural practices in their every activities.

This was followed by the selection of university lecturers, which I believed would provide a testimony on what Samoan cultural values resemble in student teachers' classroom behaviour. I was also interested to find how these lecturers viewed the differences between Samoan and Western values in teacher education.

The inclusion of Samoan academic and cultural experts was intended to provide knowledge of Samoan values from the past and opinions as to whether these values still exist or have changed in a post-colonial era. These participants were Samoan chiefs, educators, former politicians and the former leader of a Christian congregation in Samoa. Furthermore, these people had previous and current extensive experiences in education, politics, religion, social and culture.

Finally, government documents and other reading materials that contain information relating to Samoan cultural values were also data sources for the study. The aim in using these texts was to find out whether Samoan values have been documented accordingly to the expectation of Samoan culture. The data sources as presented above hoped to obtain data to support the real performances of Samoan values in teacher education practices.

4.6 QUALITATIVE DATA GATHERING METHODS

The study utilised a qualitative research methodology approach. In essence the potential key purpose of the qualitative approach is its capacity to appropriately elicit and synthesise rich and reliable detailed information. Through the active engagement of research participants—both insiders and outsiders in the field of research—a culturally sensitive framework was developed. This would enable

Pacific indigenous research to capture numerous realities. Important links exist between the selected research methodology (qualitative) and *talanoa* and *nofo*, standpoint theory, grounded theory, phenomenology and stories inquiry.

Qualitative research methodology refers to a description of characteristics of human behaviour in any society. In other words, qualitative research methodology is about understanding human behaviour and the reasons behind such behaviour. Therefore, qualitative inquiry in this study aims to understand the behaviour of students and the relevance of Samoan cultural values in teacher education.

Parallels exist between qualitative research methods and the traditional research methods of *talanoa* and *nofo*. *Talanoa*, in Samoan, translates as casual collaborative story knotting or talking method. It deviates from the norm of qualitative interviewing process as it deals specifically with the Samoan or Polynesian protocols of casual collaborative discussion or collaborative storying (see Bishop, 1996). As noted by Vaiotei, “*talanoa* can be referred to as a conversation, a talk, an exchange of ideas or thinking, whether formal or informal. It is almost always carried out face-to-face” (Vaiotei 2006, p. 23). Put simply, *talanoa* is to do with telling stories (*tala*) that are spun, strung and bound (*noa*) by people’s honesty, confidence, and shared political, historical, and socio-cultural interests. As qualitative research is a culturally bound experience, participants in a Pacific cultural setting may not be able to open up or agree to *talanoa* unless they have an understanding of the research and trust the person with whom they interact.

Talanoa involves mutual respect between the researcher and participants. This is known in Samoa as acknowledging the ‘*va fealoai*’ (conversational partners mutually display respect) (Pereira, 2005, p. 13). As a Samoan researcher and lecturer at the NUS, school principals and staff ensured I was treated with respect and dignity during field visits and school participation. This ‘*va fealoai*’ contributed to effective collecting of data from participants.

Therefore, *talanoa*’s outcome can only be achieved after the establishment of trust between participants and the researcher. In working towards this, like most in the Pacific, Samoan people tend to casually acquaint themselves over a social kava in a social gathering and feasting activities: the researcher will immerse themselves into

this environment, becoming part of the group or family, whereupon the researcher and potential participants share jokes together in a social or cultural gathering. This explanation draws parallel to Vaioleti's (2006) critical interpretation of *talanoa* in the Tongan way: "[i]t allows people to engage in social conversation which may lead to critical discussions or knowledge creation that allows rich contextual and inter-related information to surface as co-constructed stories" (Vaioleti, 2006, p. 24). It is an indigenous ways of sharing their stories, usually in a village meeting or playing sport.

Consequently, the Tongan version of *talanoa*, as provided by Vaioleti (2006), has similar implications to the Samoan version of *talanoa* explained earlier in this chapter. However, Samoan *talanoa* is accompanied by *nofo* as an indigenous research method utilised for data collection. The two qualitative research methods (*talanoa* and *nofo*) were previously utilised by the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (MESC) in its national research of Samoan values in Primary schools in Samoa. The significances of *talanoa* and *nofo* to data collection dates back before missionaries' arrival and Western colonisation in Samoa (Eteuati-Faamanatu, Silipa, & Tuia (2007).

It was during that early period that transportation was by foot and communication was developed in face-to-face meetings. The purpose of these travels was to visit family and friends or to carry a message to relatives situated in another part of the country. During these trips, travellers walked for days before they reached their destination. In order to arrive safely, travellers required the assistance of different strangers in villages that they passed through. These strangers tended to offer shelter and food, and, in return, guests assisted with household tasks and other activities such as planting and fishing. In some cases, a person continues to stay with the family. If the family sees that this person has contributed enough to the betterment of the family, they then bestow upon them family chiefly titles and a parcel of land. This interactive form of relationship has led to a cultural system in which information is released after the loyalty of the visitor or newcomer is established, because the newcomer is seen as a member of the family with responsibilities.

Indeed, it is parallel to *nofo*, which literally means sitting or staying, and is simply defined as participant observation. However, in terms of a Samoan *nofo*, a researcher needs to not only engage as a participant observer but also to become proactively involved, physically, in whatever is going on at the subject site. *Nofo*'s relationship to *talanoa* is to do with staying or sitting and talking.

In *nofo*, the researcher becomes a participant themselves in order to carry out their observation. The *nofo* method is seen to be not only a culturally sensitive framework in Samoa but also an effective method that generates the collection of reliable data in a Samoan context. It has parallels to the observational methods that are fundamental to qualitative investigation for discovering multifaceted interactions in natural settings (Creswell, 1994).

Standpoint theory complements qualitative research methodology. In regards to this research, standpoint theory, as a qualitative method of data gathering represents indigenous voices by allowing participants and the researcher to tell their stories in their own way. Standpoint theory, as discussed earlier in this chapter, provides individuals the freedom to state their standpoint on social, cultural and educational issues concerning them in society. In this research the indigenous storytelling allows the stories to be told by indigenous people themselves. In relation to this study, standpoint theory has created a pathway for Samoan cultural values to be heard.

The utilisation of standpoint theory in this research study is part of a qualitative research methodology. That is, standpoint theory, as a research methodology, has similar research methods to qualitative research which provides qualification towards effective data collection. As noted by Sarantakos (2000), standpoint theory has employed types of “research methods ranging from positivistic to interpretive and critical research” (p. 63). Reinharz (1992, cited in Sarantakos 2000) cites consciousness-raising as a useful method within standpoint research methodology. He states that it is a “group discussion technique involving groups; however, there is no leader or imposed theme of discussion; the discussion is guided by the group facilitator” (p. 65). The importance of consciousness-raising method in group discussion provides more time and space for participants to have their say.

Other methods of data gathering, such as questionnaire, interviews and group discussion were also used. These are many types of questionnaire. This study used the ‘funnel format’ questionnaire. It is stated by Sarantakos that this questionnaire format focuses on “questioning that moves from general to specific, from impersonal to personal, and from non-sensitive to sensitive questions” (Sarantakos, 2000, p. 226). Questionnaire will only be distributed to student teachers. Employing use of a questionnaire for student teachers was to gain personal information on student teachers in relation to their age, sex, village, parents’ status in village and church involvement. Moreover, a questionnaire is a tool “promises a wider coverage, since researchers can approach respondents more easily than other methods” (Sarantakos, 2000, p. 224). This information was important to this study in order to justify the significance of Samoan values in student teachers’ everyday social, cultural, educational, and spiritual life in teacher training. Use of the questionnaire complemented standpoint theory by allowing the participants the freedom to indicate any areas of social, cultural and education concerns that they felt must be raised in the study.

Another method of data gathering is the form of interviews. Structured interviews according to Sarantakos are “based on a strict procedure and a highly structured interview guide, which is no different from a questionnaire” (Sarantakos, 2000, p. 247). For this research the interview process chosen involved one participant being interviewed at his/her own time. This is known to Sarantakos as ‘individual interview, where the interviewer asks straight or indirect questions to one participant, who in turn answers these questions’ (Sarantakos, 2000, p. 248). Using interviews gives the interviewer the freedom to raise questions based on unclear responses from the interviewees.

Interviews were conducted in the workplace or home of participants, and this relied on the participants choosing their venue for the interview. The duration of each interview also depended on the participant’s willingness to talk. During interviews, participants and researcher both had the opportunity to discuss any issues. The format of the interview, as presented above, represents standpoint theory, *talanoa* and *nofo*. The participants had the freedom to speak about any topic in question. They were able to construct their views according to their own understanding.

The final method of data collection was 'focus group'. Sarantakos (2000) describes it as "a form of qualitative data collection that employs discussion in a non-standardised form and observation as its sources" (2000, p. 180). This description is also supported by Babbie (2007) where "focus groups can be structured, semi-structured or unstructured interviews" (Babbie, 2007, p. 308), which provides the researcher with an opportunity to hold discussions concurrently with the group. Focus groups provide people with freedom of speech as they respond to questions at their own will. Similar to the *talanoa* and *nofo*, the researcher spends time with the participants as well as asking them structured and unstructured questions (based on their responses).

4.7 ETHICS

It is important in any research to seek the approval of the tertiary institution research ethics committee before embarking on data collection. The researcher must be protected as well as participants who are willing to participate. It is also important to explain the research clearly, in order for the research ethics committee to advise the researcher accordingly to necessary information, guidelines and tools require to carry out the research. Ethical clearance was given from the ethics committee. I made arrangements with the participants as well as the schools and departments involved based on this clearance.

In order to meet the participants, firstly, I sent them a letter explaining the research and asking for their participation. The arrangement for time and venue was confirmed after an agreement by the participant in a written letter together with a signed form that stated their agreement. In the case of teachers, I contacted the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture by letter seeking consent for practicing teachers and principals to participate in this research study. After the acceptance from MESC, I was then able to start making arrangements with my participants.

This same procedure was also utilised for lecturers and student teachers. I wrote to the Centre of Samoan Studies to seek approval to work with some student teachers and lecturers for the study. The Centre of Samoan Studies is responsible for any research that involves any student or staff members within the National

University of Samoa. After receiving approval, I was then able to contact my participants by letter. Once the participants agreed to participate, I was able to organise a suitable time and place with the participants for our focus group discussion session.

4.8 METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

Sarantakos's (1998) and Neuman's (1994, cited in Sarantakos, 1998) method of data analysis was employed in order to make this investigation more explicit and productive. Sarantakos states that in this method (1998) " ... the investigator searches for patterns of data, for example in the form of recurrent behaviours, events, etc., and when such patterns are identified, interprets them, moving from description of empirical data to interpretation of meanings" (p. 314). The application of Sarantakos and Neuman's method of data analysis connected standpoint theory, *talanoa* and *nofo* research methods. This investigation formed an indigenous standpoint methodology, where an indigenous researcher discussed the past and the present from an indigenous perspective.

The employment of Sarantakos's and Neuman's methods of analysis alongside *talanoa* and *nofo* was selected based on their significance to the topic of study. The relationship between the two indigenous methods turns on the organisation, structure, operation and process of this research study. Sarantakos's cyclical process of analysis and Neuman's typology method complement *talanoa* and *nofo*. That is, *talanoa* and *nofo* are generally about participants' cultural and social views and opinions in relation to Samoan cultural values in education. Cyclical process analysis was useful for checking, sorting and categorisation of data collected by *talanoa* and *nofo* between participants and researcher. Neuman's typology method of analytic comparison was used to match, identify and finalise the different views from participants. Analytic comparison helped to find regularities; responses from participants that share similar meanings and ideas in relation to the topic. Culturally sensitive analysis enabled the study of Samoan cultural values in an education system believed to be dominated by Western values.

The researcher undertook follow up of previous discussions with participants in order to provide clearer insights into the aims and objectives of the research study.

In doing so, the study followed the stages, outlined by Sarantakos (1998), that a researcher must check for validity and sufficiency of data analysis. It is a cyclic process where information must go through a process of checking, sorting and categorisation before it can be finalised. According to Sarantakos (1998), a “cyclic process of analysis does not include elements of analysis in the traditional sense; however, it involves data transformation from the raw state to a form that allows them to be used constructively” (p. 315). Neuman’s typology (cited in Sarantakos, 1998) or method of data analysis focuses on the relevance and effectiveness of analytic comparison and cultural analysis as crucial when studying social and cultural situations of individuals in society. In this case, Neuman’s notion of the two types of analysis contributed to finding answers that best responded to the research topic.

The study began with a search for those theories that can represent the argument put forward by this research. This, in turn, assisted with understanding data collected from participants and from document analysis. Bishops (1996) noted, “this stance implies that the theoretical considerations on their own are inadequate and that the relationship between theory and experience should be grounded with the cultural context of the research participants rather than just within that of the researcher” (p. 58). The selected theories become the representatives of the main argument in relation to the research question. According to Silipa (2004), “theory building needs to be flexible and respectful of the experiences of the people in their daily lives” (p. 44). Overall, the theories are useful in the development of a concrete argument that supported the whole notion of this research study, which investigated the importance of Samoan values in teacher education.

4.8.1 PROCEDURES OF DATA ANALYSIS

Sarantakos’s cyclical process of analysis was key to the data analysis. The process involved ensuring information was appropriately categorised. In this research study, stage one dealt with sorting and categorising information. Therefore, stage one mainly concentrated on data reduction. That is the researcher manipulated, transformed, integrated and highlighted the data gathered. Next, data reduction involved careful reading of materials, as well as identification of the main themes

related to the studied process, behaviour and so on. In doing so, data reduction assisted in illustrating crucial ideas within the research in order to “focus data collection, sampling and methods before arriving at conclusions” (Sarantakos, 1998, p. 315). During and after data collection, the researcher checked the data to discuss and sort findings.

Stage two focused on data organisation: the researcher made decisions about the selection of information to be categorised into certain themes and aims. According to Sarantakos (1998), “the process of assembling information around certain themes and points, categorising information in more specific terms and presenting the results in some form” (p. 316). In particular, this stage of data analysis provided the researcher with clear directions in regards to the research question. The advantage of this stage of the data analysis provided my research with more specific outcomes from the data collection.

Stage three of data analysis involved interpretation: the researcher justified the data by comparing participants’ views and opinions with the findings. Interpretation in relation to this research study was crucial so that the researcher was certain of the views and opinions elucidated in support of the main aim of the study. This aim is supported by the final analysis of the data. In this last stage:

Identifying patterns and regularities, discovering trends and explanations are aspects of this process, which will allow the development of some firm views to guide the research further, namely more data collection and reduction, organisation and interpretation and then further data collection and reduction and so on. (Sarantakos, 1998, p. 316)

That is why it is called a cyclic process, because it repeats itself until the researcher is firm and convinced with its final interpretation after discovering regular information that derives from focus group discussions and interviews. This will then become the final result (data), and the information will then be included in the final discussion of the topic.

Neuman’s analytic comparison and cultural analysis were used to complement the cyclic analysis. Neuman’s research method of analytic comparison indicates that the researcher investigates according to the ideas and assumptions that have already been established before the actual data collection. Therefore, a

researcher using analytic comparison will begin with theories that have already been established as the foundation of the research. This process will draw in ideas and assumptions collected from readings and data gathering. The analysis of these ideas and assumptions takes place to find whether this data has significance to the study and the research focus. The emergence of the ideas and assumptions from this investigation then determined whether the information is relevant and significant to the whole study. When the same ideas appear frequently during document analysis, then information gathered from data collection becomes part of the study.

Regularities, as described by Neuman's typology, relate to those pieces of information that appear more often; the researcher must then try to match these regularities with theories, ideas and assumptions, before setting out to create a final analysis. Regularities are seen as information that is common to the participants, the researcher and the materials selected for data collection. The cultural analysis presents a crucial standpoint of culture and its relevance to the topic in question. This method of analysis contributes to the overall aim of this research as it helps to highlight importance of Samoan cultural values in teacher education.

The process of cultural analysis begins with the aims and objectives of a "certain cultural element" (Sarantakos, 1998, p. 318) that is created by people in the first place. In the first place, the researcher is to look for relevant ideas or points while reviewing the data. For instance, people's own interpretation of culture, or the relationship between indigenous culture and the outside world. After finding relevant ideas and points about cultural element, the researcher will then select and utilise these data for final analysis.

The connection between the cultural elements in question and the social world are critical to this type of analysis (Sarantakos, 1998, p. 319). In this study, the connection between Samoan cultural values and the epistemology of globalisation and post-colonisation situated within a former colonised society like Samoa is important. The cultural analysis method will assist the Western world and Indigenous people to comprehend the changes that now influence the social, cultural, political and educational situation of Samoan people. This will provide further ways of understanding the position of Samoan cultural values in a post-colonial period.

4.9 CONCLUSION

The discussion on standpoint theory explains its significance in supporting the main theme within the study. Standpoint theory represents stories from within, providing evidence based on life experiences. It also exposes issues of difference in relation to social, culture, education, politics, gender and race relations and provides a space for voices to be heard. The methodology and method of analysis are specifically organised and structured to meet the cultural and social behaviours of participants. It is a Pacific research methodology using *talanoa* and *nofo* as research methods to investigate the importance of Samoan cultural values in teacher education in Samoa.

Data analysis is based on Sarantakos's and Neuman's research ideologies and methodologies. Their methods of analysis clarify and elaborate the organisation and interpretation of data. The researcher has drawn out the areas that need to be researched. The method is meaningful and significant to the purpose of the researched topic. The following chapter will do the three things. First, analyse Samoans education policies, second, investigate other developing nations' education policies. Third, examine the impact of all these education policies on Samoan educational development.

Chapter 5: **EDUCATION POLICY ANALYSIS**

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Education policies aim to provide sustainable and efficient measures for a country's development. This chapter analyses the aims and purpose of education policies prepared by MESC for the nine years from 2006-2015. This analysis uses globalisation and post-colonisation theories to examine the effectiveness of current educational policies. The policies are compared to world agencies and donor countries' values. The values originated from world agencies and donor nations in conjunction with Samoan values extant in a third space and crucial to the Samoan education system. The education policies in Samoa are based on the five key concepts (quality, efficiency, sustainability, equity and relevance) of education policies proposed by MESC in its 2006-2015 strategic plans. This analysis shows that these education policies, initiated by donor nations and world agencies are based on neo-liberal economic policies. It will show that the purpose of education policies in Samoa is to guide educational providers and consumers for the economic betterment of the country. The impact of globalisation and post-colonisation on Samoa's hybrid education system is considered in detail. The chapter concludes by stating that the educational hybridity makes finding a cohesive set of values difficult, which then leads to a lack of ownership of the system.

5.2 FIVE KEY CONCEPTS IN THE POLICY

The aim of the education system in Samoa is for all children to be equipped with local and global knowledge, ideas, values, and beliefs that are of value in their current and future lives. The Samoan education system is a provider of appropriate educational policies that are applicable to the social, cultural, economic and political needs and interests of Samoan people. The Samoan education system provides educational facilitators, such as teachers, MESC, principals, policy makers, and the community with a framework of necessary knowledge, skills and experiences expected to strengthen and produce a solid hybrid education system. This educational process, proposed by donor countries and world agencies is intended to upgrade

educational areas, such as school buildings, teacher performance, maintain teacher quotas, lessen teacher attrition in rural areas, minimise student problems, provide more resources and materials (MESC, 2006, p. 10). The Samoan education system is based on five key concepts that are central to quality education. These five key concepts—equity, quality, relevance, efficiency and sustainability (MESC, 2006) — are set as the key to productive and effective education. Presumably, the five key concepts intend to clarify the main goals, aims and purposes of the current education policy in various educational areas. They are a mix and blend of Western and Samoan cultural values, but the education system in post-colonialism has more Western and less Samoan influence. The five key concepts mimic Western educational policies. These are universal educational concepts created by donor countries and world agencies to guide education systems in former colonised nations. Green (2006) argues that these second hand educational policies are placed in underdeveloped nations without considering their compatibility to the society and culture of the people. It shows that education in Samoa has been driven by policies that other countries have used in the past and present. Samoa has been expected to utilise these borrowed education policies in order to prolong economic and educational relationships with donor nations and world agencies.

Equity in the Samoan education system means providing fair and just treatment to all individuals. In addition, equity focuses on valuing the interests and needs of those within different cultures. The education system emphasises the importance of equal distribution of resources and materials to individuals and schools. In turn, this equal distribution is expected to generate the proper integration of educational knowledge and skills to all school children. The importance of equity will direct MESC (2006) teachers, educational instructors and policy makers to the appropriate knowledge, skills, and practices necessary for teaching and learning. The concept of “equity is proposed as an appropriate way to obtain adequate knowledge in education that is associated with globalised change” (p. 10). The concept of quality embraces universal values and ideas, with anticipation that education should maintain a high universal educational standard in terms of a proper classroom, resources, materials, services and school systems. Good maintenance of these educational areas will contribute to better learning and fostering of diverse knowledge in different educational programmes. Furthermore, “quality education can only be successful

when it meets individuals' educational needs and interests in relation to globalised issues that matter to their life situations" (MESC, 2006, p. 10).

The concept of relevance applies to individuals, communities and national development. It contains heterogeneous flavours, which comprise different cultural values and are associated with people from indigenous and ethnic minority groups in Samoa. The current hybrid education system recognises the interests and needs of the different cultures and people. Relevance, in relation to educational policy, focuses on the understanding that curriculum must be compatible with people's everyday social and cultural interactions within a globalised world. According to the MESC (2006):

Relevancy requires that the system is meaningful, recognised, applicable and useful to one's life. In essence, it is a system that is largely localised and contextualised, reflecting the language, cultural, and spiritual values of Samoa. (p. 10)

To achieve relevancy, the materials and resources, as well as the programmes that are in every level of education, must be aligned with the people, community and nation.

Efficiency encompasses the collective responsibility to protect the resources and materials utilised for education. The aim of this concept is to ensure a smooth flow of educational services across all levels. According to MESC (2006), efficiency means optimum use of human, financial and material resources at all levels; timely and quality service delivery; unhampered communication; and coordinated decision-making (p. 10). Therefore, it is important that all educational resources and materials, as well as teaching and learning and all other educational activities are under control. This is pursued through collective responsibility shared by MESC and village committee.

The concept of sustainability embraces the unification of all areas of society. In other words, all functions of society must work collaboratively to nurture a healthy society, culture, education system, and economy. Sustainability represents the reproduction of cultural values, and resources in society as a whole. Therefore, sustainability requires appropriate utilisation of all educational resources to guarantee equal division amongst all individuals and schools in Samoa (MESC, 2006, p.10).

New Zealand colonised the Samoan education system. Currently, the Samoan system reflects a post-colonial approach that embraces global values, beliefs and ideas. The five key concepts, as proposed by MESC, have been trialled since the beginning of the new education reform in 2006. These concepts symbolise a hybrid education system that represents the educational interests of donor countries and world agencies. Although educational levels now meet international standards, the upgrades serve universal interests. This creates problems in former colonised countries.

Most former colonised societies like Samoa, as well as third world and developing nations, have been influenced by globalisation. Woessmann (2011) indicated that “globalisation opens up the possibility for countries to catch up with technological advances in the world” (p. 297). Therefore, developing and third world nations will “need a sound skill base” (p. 297), if they want to compete with more industrial nations. That is, people must be skilful and have to acquire appropriate knowledge to counter new global activities in their countries. At present Samoa depends on donor countries and world agencies for financial assistance and education. However, this support may have come at a cost, namely assimilation of the values, beliefs and ideas of donor nations and world agencies, which formulates a hybrid system across Samoa. Developing nations may face cuts in support if they decide to reject the support of donor countries and world agencies. For instance, rejecting support from donor countries and world agencies would “result in sanctions such as the loss of loans, aid or investment” (Cooper, 2008, p. 7). Cooper (2008) has stated that World Bank International Monetary Fund schemes in developing and third world countries are problematic. Olssen and Peters (2005) suggest that most of the developing and third world countries that receive support have experienced “hunger and riots and the policies have precipitated crises that have led to greater poverty and international inequalities” (p. 19). This research suggests that the problems that arose in Samoa and other developing nations may have occurred due to their utilisation of policies in education and other economic developments that were incompatible with their usual social and cultural activities. The economic and educational system in Samoa is comparable, where inequalities reflect the neoliberal economic policies. Samoans were introduced to new education policies, socialisation and technology, without having any familiarity with it. Samoans tend to have little say in the

construction and implementation of these policies, due to dominant western influence. Although most of these newly introduced policies are new to Samoans, people were still encouraged to incorporate them into their everyday living. In other words, education policies provided by donor nations and world agencies were to upgrade educational standards in Samoa.

The current (Tuia, 2013) research suggests that the different ideas provided by educational providers (donor countries and world agencies) are the source of Samoa's educational problems. As noted by Woessmann (2011), "inequality of labour market outcomes" (p. 297) exist in developed nations, whereas, globalisation in developing and third world nations creates benefits for some, but not the whole nation (Woessmann, 2011). Globalisation provides a space for western nations to inject their culture, education and social values, beliefs and ideas. It brings western goods and materials (Appadurai, 1996), opens doors to international trade markets, and brings foreign investors with promises of future benefits for the locals. But, in Samoa, globalisation has been also a time of cultural, social, education and political transformation. A homogeneous society became a heterogeneous one. Many cultures have blended to formulate a new, but different, society from the former society. As a result, it was both good and bad for Samoan people. For instance, the advantage of globalisation has been for Samoans to have a western taste to their cultural, social and educational systems, enabling individuals to be educated with Western skills and knowledge. In terms of disadvantage, Samoans have experienced loss of their cultural values, languages and customs. In addition, some Samoans may leave the country for employment opportunity overseas.

Global economic activities influence families and individuals, and change how people view their social and cultural situations. These changes can motivate people to do well in education, and Samoa has seen education as a key to a fruitful economic future for families, individuals, organisations and the nation. Therefore, it is important "that the supply of education and training is in tune with the new demands arising from globalisation" (Willem te Velde, 2005, p. 50). The creation of suitable education and training should focus mainly on the "opportunities and consequences of economic globalisation processes" (Willem te Velde, 2005, p. 50). In return, schools and universities tend to become more competitive institutions. As a result,

many Samoan students are competing to do well in secondary school in order to secure a place at the NUS.

The emergence of post-colonialism in Samoa led to an era for re-appropriation and re-contextualisation of Samoan cultural, social, and educational values and ideas. That is, to coincide with different (heterogeneous) cultural, social and educational values and ideas of other countries that contributed to the educational development in Samoa. Spivak (2003) suggested that strategic essentialism for the subalterns was a way of re-constructing their social and cultural identity in the main stream society. To do so, was to create appropriate strategies that will enable them to make essential claims of their social and cultural identity in society (Leitch, 2001). In Samoa, adopting Spivak's (2003) method of strategic essentialism will assist with the meticulous mixing and blending of western and Samoan values and ideas to create a hybrid education system that configures a more sophisticated education believed to be suitable for Samoans. The promotion of quality education by donor nations and world agencies expect all nations including Samoa to follow. Therefore, Samoa, donor countries and world agencies should work collaboratively to ensure a fair blending and mixing of Samoan and western values to the making of quality education in Samoa.

The integration of the five key concepts within the education system is to guide the next 15 years of quality education and to counter the immediate global changes in Samoa. Donor nations and world agencies support appropriate educational ways proposed to be suitable for educational improvements in developing and third world countries (Avalos, 2002; Ka Ho Mok, 2006). Such operations signify a hybridising process in former colonised nations. In fact, it allows donor countries and world agencies the freedom to change and install what its best for Samoa.

Blending of cultures and ideas between the coloniser and colonised does not happen uniformly. This means that some ingredients are more dominant than others and, in Samoa's case, western ideas are more dominant than Samoan values in the current education system. Adopting post-colonial perspective assists in the recognition, maintenance and re-use of social and cultural interests, values, beliefs, needs and ideas of less important groups of people, minority groups, developing and third world to be recognised, maintained and reused (Webb, 2006). Therefore, as a

former colonised nation, Samoa is now in the process of re-constructing its social, cultural, educational values, and ideas within a global education system. The five key concepts are the backbone of the education system in Samoa. That system will be closely examined alongside with other countries' education systems in relation to globalisation of economic, social and cultural values, beliefs and ideas.

5.3 AIMS OF CURRICULUM POLICY IN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

An appropriate mixture of local and international educational ingredients must be in place to formulate an educational curriculum suitable for Samoans that also meets international standards. Curriculum “includes not only what is taught but how and why and in what socio-cultural and ideological context” (Welikala, 2011, p. 12). The aim of the education curriculum is to capture the social, cultural, educational, and political values, beliefs and ideas of a heterogeneous society. As indicated by MESC (2006):

The Samoan curriculum emphasises the need to develop environmentally and socially sustainable practices. This applies not only to the physical environment but also in the way society structures itself socially, culturally and economically. (p. 38)

A productive curriculum depends on strong content inclusive of all relevant cultural values, beliefs, and ideas that are applicable to the educational needs and interests of indigenous people. Stobie (2007) refers to curriculum as a “diversity of elements which can be separately identified as contributing to the learning process” (cited in Welikala, 2011, p. 12). The intention is to produce skilful and intelligent citizens for the nation's future.

Effective curriculum planning and action relies on strong policies to inform and guide teachers on what to teach and appropriate methods to develop children's learning in the classrooms. The focus of a good quality curriculum is to provide local and international knowledge and skills to equip Samoan students to be able to compete locally and internationally as part of a global workforce. As stated by Welikala (2011), the “emphasis is on the preparation of students to become successful in a multicultural society” (p. 12). This is in relation with the aims indicated by the five key concepts towards improvement in quality education. The

aim of those concepts, outlined in the beginning of this chapter, is to guide educational developments in this education system. That is, to improve social, cultural, political, economic, and educational activities required for better development in a heterogeneous society. Therefore, a productive curriculum is the scaffolding of global economic, social, and cultural ideas, beliefs, and values now moving rapidly across the country.

The policy on curriculum intends to educate students and student teachers to realise the social, cultural, and other materials and resources in their environment (MESC, 2006). Edwards and Usher (2000) have suggested that the impact of “globalisation on curriculum is to enable learners to engage as global citizens or consumers to familiarise with issues on global values, sustainable development and environmental education” (p. 47). This is reflected in the attempt made in Samoa to educate Samoan children with globalised economic values. However, Nordtveit (2010) argued differently, suggesting that “curriculum ... is not targeted at improving the students’ economic wellbeing, but is based on a colonial inspired academic rationalist discourse” (p. 6). This global curriculum discourse, claimed by Nordtveit (2010), highlights an underlying colonial influence that is still active behind the operation and organisation of educational curriculum in Samoa. This has been indicated by MESC’s education policy, where most ideas and values situated in this education policy contradict Samoan cultural values.

However, MESC (2006) has indicated that change in education is unavoidable. Samoan education policies embrace the new changes. For instance, “Change is inevitable. Education must equip the individual to engage confidently in the modern world and a rapidly changing society” (p. 11).

Clearly, there is contention regarding the implementation of western values in the hybrid education system, but the Samoan education system will not exist if these values initiated by world agencies and donor nations do not prevail. MESC has confronted the issue by implementing these new global social and cultural changes in the education policy. However, Samoa has to accept change in order to survive in the modern world. In order to survive these global changes, the education system needs to be hybrid. Bhabha’s (1994) notion of hybridity is an opportunity for Samoans to integrate essential elements of their culture into the curriculum, so that students get

the best out of teaching and learning. In post-colonialism, education is a mechanism that generates knowledge and skills needed by Samoan people. The aims and goals of Samoa's education system, from the beginning of colonisation, tend to focus more on transforming the minds and souls of Samoan people to acquire an international understanding rather than just understanding or their own local surroundings (social, culture and education). Bishop explained this in his article in the *Samoa Observer* newspaper, as an "education structure based on a foreign model" (Moore, 2012, p. 11). It is an education system that is western in thought and local in style as served by local Samoan people. This has been a major goal for donor countries and world agencies. However, values of international understanding appear in the educational policies of other countries (Mok, 2006). This indicates that education policies contain universal aspects of life rather than policies meant to subjugate Samoan values.

Despite the implementation of a well prepared Samoan curriculum policy, founded on universal educational values, problems still arise in schools. For instance, students have difficulties understanding the subjects, content and context. Most educational ideas and methods used in the curriculum subjects are western exports, where most children are unaware of their origin. However, New Zealand education policy on curriculum, as reported by Law (2003), has created courses that are compatible with the living situations of New Zealand children in their own environment. Most significantly, students and teachers both have familiarity of the content and context of their courses, because of the resources and materials found in New Zealand. As Law asserts (2003):

Schools in New Zealand have been able to develop programmes of study that reflect the needs of students. Teachers have the ability to take a range of achievement objectives either within a subject area or across subject area's to develop courses that address student needs. Teachers also have the ability to make choices either themselves or with students about the most effective teaching and learning techniques to undertake such as programme. (pp. 52-53)

Tension exists between the ideas of Samoan cultural values and quality teaching. That is, the presence of Samoan cultural values in the education system might contribute towards better teaching and learning. Samoan teachers who are familiar with Samoan cultural values can utilise their experience to mould students for better behaviours, at the same time, these experienced teachers have the ability to

provide quality teaching. Dick Bishop, who was an educator and former teacher in Samoa, indicates “we spend too much time on curriculum, methods and lesson planning, what we need is creative teachers who love what they do” (Moore, 2012, p. 11). However, Samoan cultural experts and lecturers (participants) argue differently, suggesting that knowledge and new educational ideas be given to student teachers, along with information about Samoan cultural values. Lecturers suggest that, if student teachers understand Samoan cultural values, they will know how to behave while they are learning in the classroom (cultural experts and lecturer participants).

Acquiring educational knowledge and ideas is relevant in the current school curriculum, where values must be in place to shape both learning and teaching behaviours. In Samoa, school curriculum policies are guided by values that have been interpreted by the MESC (2006). These values are informed by the donor nations and world agencies as suitable for educational betterment. These values are similar to Samoan cultural values and are considered appropriate to guiding new and old teachers.

The present day Samoan education system relies on a productive curriculum to accommodate the many social, cultural, and educational changes in society. The educational curriculum offers the knowledge, skills, ideas and methods to people in relation to each specialised curriculum subject. The aim and purpose of the educational curriculum in Samoa is to teach Samoan students about the old and new ideas and values of social, cultural, political, and economic life that influences the living situations of people in society. Subjects must provide an equal share of examples from the Samoan environment and western societies. Currently, the Samoan educational curriculum relies heavily on an ideal western curriculum. Hence most of the information contained in every curriculum subject has more relevance to western than Samoan people. This symbolises an education system that is increasingly hybridised, “more complex and more commodified” (Kraidy, 2005, p. 21). Therefore, the Samoan curriculum intends to produce relevant information that benefits both Samoan and Western societies to embrace global social, cultural, education, politics and economic values, beliefs and ideas. The next section focuses on teacher education policy in Samoa and abroad. The five key concepts will be examined together with the theories of globalisation and post-colonisation.

5.4 TEACHER EDUCATION POLICY AND CURRICULUM

The FoE and NUS merged in 1997. The merge occurred as changes in the educational system were deemed necessary to enhance academic standards for student teachers in Samoa. This merge prioritised the re-contextualisation of Samoan values within the refined education system. The original FoE was known as Samoa Teachers' College at Malifa. It had been established by the colonial regime of New Zealand and was solely managed by the MESC, based on their educational standards. The merging of the old teachers' college with the NUS marked the end of colonial teacher education.

One of the most difficult factors with this merge was realigning education policies to suit both the new FoE and MESC. For instance, the teaching practices that were run by the FoE were incompatible with primary and secondary schools' timetable. This was because the FoE had only two teaching practices per year. Further, some schools refused to accept student teachers for school observation. Some school teachers complained about student teachers' misunderstanding of teaching and learning methods and materials in the classroom. This lack of collaboration impacted on the key concepts of sustainability, equity, quality, efficiency and relevancy. Research on principals' perception of new teachers in schools was conducted by Tupu Tuia, Ah Chong and Sooaemalelagi (2008) from the FoE at NUS. Principals were unhappy with student teachers, and believed that the FoE should shape and mould student teachers' behaviour to reflect Samoan cultural values. Similar suggestions was made by Willem te Velde (2005) in relation to teachers in developing nations, "that much of education spending is wasted because school ... teachers are poorly trained" (p. 27). The concern raised by Willem te Velde (2005) indicates dissatisfaction with teaching and learning in developing nations. Similar concerns from Samoan school principals showed that they also blame the FoE for not providing adequate training to student teachers. Although the opinions of principals are important, teacher training is just one part of the teacher training process. Education policy indicates a shared responsibility between parents, schools, the teachers' college and community to work together to improve quality education across all levels (MESC, 2006). That is, principals and senior staff members are also responsible for mentoring and instructing new teachers about their behaviours. New

teachers must also be given space and time to adjust, under the supervision of senior teachers and principals.

Currently, the qualities of student teachers' skills in teacher training are low. Students have poor written expression in English, as well as behavioural problems such as missing classes, late assignments, eating in the classroom and chatting during classes. The behaviour of student teachers is a constant problem of teacher training every year. This is problematic for the production of quality teachers from the FoE. In fact, it contradicts MESC (2006) policy on quality education, which includes teachers, students and resources. However, Woessmann (2001) has indicated that poorer nations have created educational policies to "attract and retain a high-quality teaching force" (p. 298). The type of policy aims to "ensure that students receive a high quality education in general" (p. 298) from teachers. In fact, such an aim may not be being met in Samoa, as indicated by secondary and primary school principals.

Principals from secondary and primary Samoan schools were requested to provide their perception of new teachers who graduated from FoE (Ah Chong, Funealii & Tuia, 2008). Most responses indicated that new teachers were disrespectful, showed poor academic performance and occasionally had problems communicating. Similar findings were reported by Kazmi (2005), with his study of teachers in poorer countries, where he stated that teachers "lack knowledge of the subject matter and are unable to communicate effectively" (p. 102). Some of these teachers had insufficient education, where most did not reach higher education. In addition, some did not study core subjects such as mathematics and science, which precluded them from providing effective teaching in the classroom.

In fact, teacher problems like those indicated by Kazmi (2005) are also encountered in Samoan schools. For instance, student teachers who are majoring in Inclusive Education and Early Childhood Education only take basic mathematics and English courses, unlike primary student teachers who undertake all the core teaching courses such as English and mathematics. The differences between these teachers in primary school is that teachers with a primary general major can teach from year 4 to 8, teachers majoring in ECE can only teach from year 1 to 3, and Inclusive Education teachers only teach students with special needs. Currently, both Early Childhood Education (ECE) and Inclusive Education (IE) teachers are teaching year 4 to 8,

which contradicts with five key concepts. As a result, teacher education programmes are also affected and create policy issues for the education system. Teacher education programmes also come under scrutiny when students' achievement is deemed unsatisfactory. MESOC (2006) states that, "teacher education programmes will be of the best quality" (p. 26). However, some student teachers within the current FoE find it difficult to achieve satisfactory results. Student teachers' low results may be due to their limited interaction with the outside world, which constrains their understanding of educational ideas and materials of their chosen courses. This is due to students' linguistic problems, as well as failure to study their course materials. In addition, students who were absent from school most frequently have been labelled as underachievers. This contradicts the five key concepts of equity, quality, efficiency, relevancy and sustainability. The five key concepts attempt to enhance learning and teaching, as well as to promote quality education all around Samoa. However, current student teachers' behaviour are unable to fulfil the five key concepts. In short, the five key concepts have failed to make the promised improvements towards quality education. This research suggests that it is the rapid change in education policies that have been imposed on Samoa to satisfy donor countries and world agencies that disadvantage many Samoan student teachers.

The incorporation of Samoan values, as proposed and presumed by FoE staff as traditional Samoan values, to discipline student teachers, was also unsuccessful. To address the issue of student behaviour, an educational programme designed to counsel classes from first year to final year students was undertaken. These counselling classes were held one day each week for the duration of 14 weeks. Student teachers were given a chance to voice their opinions on any personal and educational problems. However, most students did not attend these counselling classes and those who did choose to remain silent. As a result, student teachers who have graduated and teach in schools continue to conduct themselves poorly in their schools. Consequently, it contributes to poor quality classroom performance in teaching and learning (Personal communication with FoE lecturers, 28/02/2009).

The problem of disrespecting senior teachers is reported by teacher and principal participants as very common with new graduates now teaching in schools. Principals involved in this study reported that most of these new teachers do not

listen to the Principals or senior staff members (Ah Chong, Funealii & Tuia, 2008). Both MESC and FoE have satisfied the key concept of equity by providing equal opportunity to all individuals who want to be teachers, but that opportunity is not used wisely by pre-service and in-service teachers in the system.

Mok (2006) asserts that it is very challenging in schools, universities and teacher training institutions to justify the education system under equity, efficiency and quality grounds. That is, the current concern for “value for money” and “public accountability” (p. 19) has changed the public’s expectation of what is best for education in society. It was a Samoan government move to privatise education, and allow donor countries’ and world agencies’ education policies to rule its operation and organisation. Education in Samoa is steering towards that of western societies, which favours global values rather than indigenous cultural values. The incorporation of neo-liberal values into the Samoan education system has changed families’ and individuals’ social, cultural, and economic values. In fact, the new education policies contradict the Samoan cultural value system that was intended to be part of the education system.

Currently, there is a high demand in many former colonised nations for quality education, and this is due to parents’ and the general public’s concern for change. As a result, many governments have “expanded higher education but are faced with financial constraints in meeting people’s demand for higher education” (Mok, 2006, p. 19). That is similar to the education system in Samoa, where the NUS is now looking abroad for financial assistance due to the limited financial support from the government. Today in modern education, “universities have started to change their paradigm in governance by adopting the doctrine of monetarism, which is characterised by freedom and markets” (Mok, 2006, p.19). This has become a solution to most universities situated in former colonised, developing and poor countries is by seeking financial assistance abroad to fund the changes towards higher and quality education.

The NUS has adopted the idea, and its vision for teacher education proclaims that every child in Samoa be a part of an enabling environment where the right to be taught by well qualified teacher instilling in learners a deep love for learning, generates positive citizens for the cultural, and economic environments (NUS

Calendar, 2010, p. 200). In response to the vision above, many lecturers of the FoE now return with Masters degrees in Education, while some lecturers are studying PhDs. Indeed, the goal is to upgrade the standard of education and to provide higher quality education for student teachers in Samoa. Overall, it is to improve the standard of a hybrid education system and to counter the many global changes that are now occurring in a heterogeneous society.

Other studies on the issue of equity, efficiency and quality education have shown that teacher education policies in some former colonised, developing and poor countries are ineffective. Avalos (2002) argued that the ineffectiveness in education policies was interpreted in terms of:

Under-estimation of the extent of existing inequalities; preference for homogeneous policies and too few resources allocated; lack of compensation for unintended consequences of market policies and decentralisation; and the excessive school-orientation of policies. (p. 151)

In Samoa's education system inequality likewise exists. Moreover, the Samoan education system fails to recognise inequality exists, which disadvantages rural schools, in terms of resources and materials, as well as result in poor teaching and learning. Samoan cultural values have not been put in place effectively, which is the cause of inequality in education. Inequality exists due to unequal provision of education resources and materials in schools. It is evident in that most rural schools do not have eight teachers for eight levels and have only a limited supply of resources (Personal communication with principal 27/05/2007). In contrast, schools in urban areas all have enough teachers and resources to accommodate their students. Therefore, inequality exists amongst students after school examination, where the majority of higher achievers come from urban schools and none from rural schools.

Issues related to student inequality impact on performance and have led MESC to formulate a partnership between village council and schools. Village and parent committees have helped some rural and urban government schools to purchase computers and to set up their school libraries. MESC (2007) justify and approve of the implementation of this programme by stating that:

MESC appoints and pays salaries of principals and teachers, and distributes stationery and curriculum materials to schools. The local communities

(village/districts) provide the school buildings, furniture and equipment, and are also responsible for the maintenance of the school and its environment.
(p. 68)

MESC's main focus is to develop shared responsibility with the villages and is grounded in a Samoan cultural value system. In so doing, MESC has developed a partnership with the villages, where MESC has devolved its role to the village school committee. That is, the village school committee is to be responsible for school maintenance, while MESC deals with the academic side as well as teachers' salaries. MESC also shared similar beliefs with Samoan cultural and academic experts, Lecturers, teachers and student teacher participants that village and school partnerships are guided by Samoan cultural values. Both groups agree that student teachers' social and cultural problems will lessen due to the shared responsibility between MESC and village, parents and school.

The concept of sustainability is about maintaining teaching and learning areas that require immediate attention to assist with the economic, political, environmental, social and cultural development in Samoa. The goal set by MESC to ensure sustainable education is one of a mixing and blending system. That is, for traditional values, resources and materials to be utilised appropriately together with western ideologies and methodologies in the education system (MESC, 2006). It is presumed that this system will provide the knowledge and skills to face the economic, social, cultural, political and educational changes now confronting Samoa. I will now provide a discussion on a post-colonial educational analysis of Samoan policy from an indigenous standpoint.

5.5 A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SAMOAN EDUCATION SYSTEM FROM A POST-COLONIAL PERSPECTIVE

The current education system, highlighting the five key concepts, is presumed to be an ideal education system to guide the spiritual, cultural, social, intellectual, and physical potential of all participants (MESC, 2006) in Samoa. MESC indicated, "A quality holistic education system that recognises and realises the spiritual, cultural, intellectual and physical potential of all participants, enables them to make fulfilling life choices" (2006, p. 4). This system supports and serves global changes regarding emerging cultures, religions, social and education system.

The five key concepts support the hybrid education system in Samoa as a mechanism to generate academic knowledge and skills to individuals. However, the Samoan hybrid education system must also recognise Samoan traditional history, knowledge, skills, language and experiences of indigenous people. Incorporating important Samoan cultural values brings educational balance in teaching and learning.

Unfortunately, not many Samoans are aware that the education system is now situated in a 'third space' or that it is hybrid (Bhabha, 1994). This new education system has new ideas that are incompatible with the local understanding of Samoan parents and students. However, to be situated in this 'third space' is to expect change, differences and contradictions, not only socially, culturally, educationally but also in politics. Educational changes began with colonisation and continue to this day. For this reason, Samoa's current educational model is a symbol of colonial education, structured and implemented by the coloniser to suit these heterogeneous social, cultural, educational and political activities. The current model could have a positive impact on Samoan society if Samoa intends to embrace modern social, politics, culture and education in a globalised world.

A post-colonial, Samoa continues to be reaping benefits from this colonial education model, by accepting financial assistance, as well as educational ideas, and ways to organise and operate a hybrid education system. There have been some changes made to the current Samoan education system, such as adjusting to the latest global economic, social, and cultural initiatives. However, Samoan academics and cultural experts, lecturers, teachers, and student teacher participants have claimed the importance of Samoan cultural values in shaping the behaviours of Samoan children in schools. A consequence of the current Samoan hybrid education system is the change in policy to accommodate global economic goals and purposes, as well as integrating Samoan cultural values.

Other studies conducted by scholars in developed and developing nations have discovered that education is a changing process (Stromquist, 2002; Green, 2006). This is due to a high demand in global economic competitiveness between developed nations, which now impacts on former colonised nations, developing, and poorer nations. According to Stromquist (2002), economic and cultural globalisation

impacts on education systems in both developed and developing nations. Similarly, Gaziel (2010) pointed out that, education in the post-colonial era, is viewed as the foundation of “international economic competitiveness” (p. 49). Within this view, education generates the necessary skills and knowledge to assist nations and people to upgrade heterogeneous social, cultural, political, economic and educational standards, which also transform peoples’ perceptions of their cultural values.

Green (2006) suggests that education can no longer be controlled, but must be seen as a means of reproducing the coloniser’s values, beliefs and ideas in a globalised world. The use of smaller nations, like Samoa, by developed nations to expand global economic ideologies and methodologies is a symbol of colonisation and global practice. As a result of this global practice, Samoa is struggling in terms of its educational journey. However, Samoa has very little say in these educational changes, while neoliberal global policies tend to dominate how people should be educated and live their life. These neo-liberal global policies, as stated by Hursh (2009), instructed schools to be accountable for producing productive workers by setting high-stakes standardised exams. They emphasise that students and teachers are responsible if students fail these examinations. This type of education practice in Samoa creates a big gap between Samoa and developed nations. In reality, most Samoan students have been unable to reach a high academic standard in education or to find places in overseas universities.

These neo-liberal global policies verify that the current education system has never been driven or dominated by Samoan cultural values, but has always been driven by a western system. The goal of this research study is to re-appropriate and reconstruct the current heterogeneous education system, where Samoan values, beliefs and ideas have been heterogenised, so that the Samoan culture and Western values, ideas, and beliefs can coexist forming a quality education system.

The whole scenario discussed above is an old educational issue in most developing and poorer nations in some parts of Asia and Africa (Mok, 2006). It considers the ongoing relationship with the ruling developed nations and a race towards proper education for all indigenous people rather than just the rich and famous in developing and poorer nations. In relation to the educational issues, Samoa still has close associations with donor countries such as New Zealand, Australia,

Japan, China, and Canada, as well as with world agencies such as the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the United Nations (UN) and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), which contribute tremendously to the development of quality education in Samoa. This illustrates that some of the aims, goals, and purpose of equity, quality, efficiency, relevancy, and sustainability originate from donor countries and world agencies. This was reaffirmed by the current Samoan education policy (MESC, 2006), when MESC acknowledged the contribution by the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and Asian Development Bank (ADB) as the reviewers of the education sector. This is followed with the acknowledgement of the contribution of the government of Australia, New Zealand, Japan, China, Canada, the European Union (EU), the UN and the ADB (MESC, 2006, p.9).

In the same vein, Avalos (2002) and Mok (2006) confirmed that the World Bank, Development Bank, Asian Development Bank and other agencies are major forces behind the change in educational policy in most countries around the world, especially in developing and poorer nations. They are concerned that banks and agencies, or networks around the world have policies and regulatory requirements that many poor countries and developing nations must satisfy to be eligible for the financial assistance. Avalos (2002) states:

Numerous major publications by the World Bank in the 1990s, for example, propounded a view of how education should be reshaped, in particular so as to more precisely serve the assumed demands of national and international economic growth and competitiveness (p.19).

Support from world agencies and donor nations demand the recognition of values, ideas, and beliefs that are often not relevant to people in the poorer countries or developing nations. The values underlying the support are known as ‘universal values’. These values are part of “universal education”, a concept used by countries under the umbrella of UNESCO and the United Nations. The strategy is to bring quality, equity, efficiency, relevancy, and sustainable education to all the United Nations member countries; Samoa is one of these countries. Mok (2006) argues that the concepts of equity, efficiency, relevancy and sustainable education are inappropriate in poorer and developing countries. This thinking

leads countries to a fairly logical reliance on policy initiatives that are blessed with universal recognition. While these policies may offer appropriate responses to common problems around the world, they also have ideological connotations that are not always sufficiently disclosed. (p. 135)

In other words, the support is seen by Mok (2006) as having a hidden agenda or as a sign of domination as people have little voice due to their misunderstanding of the education policies employed. As a result, the support has victimised most indigenous people in former colonised nations and minority groups in developed nations.

Stromquist (2002) adds to the debate by arguing that education systems change as economic knowledge across the world changes. She suggests education policies are less concerned with the culture and political interests of local communities and more concerned with the change in education. As a result, Samoan cultural values are undermined. Stromquist (2002) suggests that this kind of global economic change will leave individuals with very little choice but to opt into the imposed system. For instance, most people in Samoa are focused on quality education for their children and the nation. In Samoa, parents, especially those who have high government positions, are also putting their children in private schools. The main intention is to captivate a taste of western educational benefits while situated in a former colonised nation. The key focus is to improve “economic developments” (Green, 2006, p. 199) in families, communities, poorer and developing nations. Most private schools in Samoa are based on Western educational rules and regulations, where the main language of communication is English. This kind of educational approach adds to the threat of Samoan language and cultural values disappearing.

Lipman (2000, cited in Stromquist, 2002, p. 45) asserts that the most popular types of schools in developed nations are private schools, where they are “financially or logistically” affordable. However, in Samoa, families who were able to put their children in private schools may have done it for two reasons: to escape the poor conditions in government schools; or because they are well-educated or from wealthy families.

Green (2006) suggests that such globalised quality education is a way of “forming citizens and shaping national identities” (p. 195). He states that the national curriculum should continue to emphasise the importance of heterogeneous cultures

and languages. Unfortunately, most former colonised and developing nations cannot avoid this hybrid education, because developed nations and other agencies have greater influence over their economic, education, social, cultural, and political developments.

Globalised education also has an impact on Samoan cultural values. A study by Carrington and Luke (2004) looked at the impact of globalisation on the literacy, and curriculum practices in developing nations. Carrington and Luke (2004) assert that the social, and cultural values, beliefs, and ideas once valued by former colonised, developing nations, and indigenous people in developed nations have all been affected due to the “powerful economic and technological forces” (p.54) of globalisation. These researchers suggest that communities, families, individuals, and nations have no control over its rapid change, and find it very complicated to comprehend its global transformation (Carrington & Luke, 2004). The most common characteristics of globalisation, as suggested by Carrington and Luke (2004), consist of “speed and durability, flexibility and mutability of networks and flows: as bodies and capital, information and images move across increasingly permeable political borders and geographic barriers” (p. 54). The result is the transformation of existing cultural values, beliefs and ideas, and ‘economic scapes’ (Carrington & Luke, 2004, p. 54) of local communities, families, organisations and the nations to coincide with the flow of global economic values, beliefs, and ideas suitable for a post-colonial society.

These changes impact on Samoans’ everyday experiences, along with the emergence of new ideas in workplaces, families new economic needs, schools’ new developments, and the westernisation of their social and cultural lives. The intention of the colonisers was two-fold: firstly, to prepare individuals to comprehend local and international social and cultural environments; and secondly, to prepare individuals to invest in economic changes, the importance of higher education, and the “maintenance of stable communities and nuclear family” (Carrington & Luke, 2004, p. 54). Currently, many Samoan families now adopt this globalised style of living, where higher education becomes a priority and children must succeed and be able to contribute economically to the family in the future. For instance, a Samoan family with educated members can now adapt to a new life style with modern

European houses, cars, businesses, eating habits and school practices. These are all part and parcel of a globalised economic world, which also comes with the changes to traditional cultural values. However, many other Samoans continue to struggle economically, socially, educationally, and culturally. The cost of living in Samoa is rising. Some people are living in poverty, children are not in school, parents are not working and people are living in poor conditions. As asserted by Malifa:

As it's going up, it's casting its sad shadow on families living in poverty nearby. Twenty minutes away at Falelauniu, Tafaigata and Nu'u, more families are living in abject squalor. That was not how it was fifteen years ago, which proves poverty is contagious, it just grows and grows. So what is this poverty – if it remains unattended to - going to be like ten years from now? We wince thinking about it. (2010, p. 12)

Some parents are unable to place their children in school because of the cost of living. However, if children from these families go to schools, they will be disadvantaged due to lack of educational resources to assist with their school work. For instance, their parents are unable to afford to buy text books, computers, bus fares and uniforms.

MESC education policy is struggling to accommodate families who are economically, socially, and educationally disadvantaged. However, it is indicated by MESC (2006) that the current education system "recognises equal opportunities" (p. 10). Yet, not all children are receiving the same opportunities due to their socio economic situation. To counter such educational problems, the government has now passed a law that all primary school children will receive a free education. However, children from underprivileged families still have difficulties attending school. Children from middle class families receive the best education because of their status in society. The imbalance within education policy has created inequality between local Samoans and other ethnic cultures situated in Samoa. The utilisation of hybrid education values thus overtakes Samoan cultural values.

The rise in global economic activities and the rapid flow of technology has led to the restructuring of educational policies in Western countries. Therefore, the Samoan education system has also been amended to align with the globalised world. Generating these new educational policies in Samoa requires the assistance of well-educated Samoans and international consultants. The values and belief system of

these local and Western educators have impacted on their decision making on the types of educational policies suitable for Samoan children. More educational global changes continue to widen the gap between disadvantaged and advantaged Samoan children in schools.

Kyle (1990) has asserted that it is very unfair for poor European, minority and indigenous students to be educated under the same policy, simply due to the fact that these policy makers were mainly white male bureaucrats who only understand the values, needs, and interests of their own children. As Noeline Kyle⁹ stated in Scott (1996):

White male bureaucrats, intent on forging their own destinies as much as those of poor white children, had no grand plan for equality and quality. They appeared to have no great vision. They were pragmatists. (cited in Scott John David, 1996, pp. 129-130)

Furthermore, most children who are schooled under these educational policies (similar to those reported by Kyle in Australian schools today) are Samoans who come from families with little exposure to the outside world. Some Samoan children are also identified as either having poor English writing and speaking skills or having a lack of understanding of school materials. This is a sign of an unfair and unjust system due to the fact that the social, cultural and educational values of Samoans and Western educators are incompatible with those of working class families.

The issues of equity, quality, efficiency, relevancy and sustainability in education as outlined in the Samoa education policy is questionable as it lacks relevance to the social, cultural, education, economic and political situation of Samoan people. The changes made to the Samoan education system embrace neo-colonial values, beliefs and ideas. Samoa is now faced with global changes that demand mimicry of Western knowledge and ideas. As the very foundation of Samoa's education system is unsettled and confusing, the teacher education policies to produce productive future teachers and intelligent Samoans are also problematic.

⁹ Kyle, N. (1990). Policy politics, parsimony and pragmatisms: The state and the rural school in Colonial New South Wales. *History of Education*, 19(1), p. 54

5.6 CONCLUSION

The style of education now practiced by Samoan people is a reproduction of western developed, and World agencies ideal types of education systems. But, the aims and goals of the five key concepts, praised by MESC as the backbone of education policies, do not correlate with many different areas of educational development in Samoa. This has led to many problems in social, cultural, and educational contexts. Arguably, this is the result of the rapid globalisation in Samoa. The political arrangements to gain support from donor nations and world has denied Samoa's rights to claim full ownership and control of its education system. The lack of full ownership of the system has negatively impacted on educational curriculum policies as well as teacher education policies.

Table 5.1 shows the different values and definitions that are in the curriculum policy section provided by MESC (2006). MESC (2006) indicated, that "the school curriculum will help individuals to develop and clarify their own beliefs and values" (p. 38). This clarifies that these values were not specifically identified as western, religious or Samoan, but are comprised of heterogeneous global cultural traces. The values of fairness, collaboration, acknowledgement, consultation and consensus all share the definition of "decisions and practices are viewed as having respected the opinion of others and where outcomes are accepted as just" (MESC, 2006, p. 38). The purposes of these values are deeply rooted in people's educational needs and aspirations in Samoa. Therefore these views incorporate Samoan values and form part of the hybrid system.

According to the MESC (2006), education demands that "there is consistency, love and sincerity in what is said and done. The values of wisdom and excellence, are defined as "high achievement is valued and celebrated" (p. 38). These values intend to support the idea of an obedient student that is rewarded with high achievement. The learner must be confident, willing to learn and to succeed. The values of responsibility, hospitality and reciprocity contain strong educational connotations where "students are responsible for their actions and take actions to assist others" (MESC, 2006, p. 38). This is similar to the values of honour and respect, where "others are treated with consideration and sensitivity, the physical environment is maintained and cultural, spiritual values and societal rules are adopted by all"

(MESC, 2006, p. 39). Post-colonial discourses emphasise the importance of acknowledgement of one's race and ethnicity, in order for individuals to support one another while situated in the third space (Bhabha, 1994). Therefore, Samoan children who are educated in this hybrid education system must respect others' cultures and their environments. Moreover, the value of tolerance also is supportive of "differences and diversity within society is respected and accommodated" (MESC, 2006, p. 39). This hybrid education system contains values, beliefs and ideas that are gathered from the different systems now situated in this heterogeneous society. The values have been based on the difference and diversity valued in a globalised world.

Table 5.1
Values in Education Policy

Values	Examples	Origin
Fairness	Decisions and practice are viewed as having respected the opinion of others and where outcomes are accepted as just.	Universal
Collaboration		Samoan
Acknowledgement		
Consultation		
Consensus	These are consistency, love and sincerity in what is said and done.	Universal
Honesty		Samoan
Love		Universal
Wisdom		Samoan
Excellence	High achievement is valued and celebrated.	Universal
Responsibility		Samoan
Hospitality		Universal
Reciprocity		Samoan
Honour	Students are responsible for their actions and take actions to assist others.	Universal
Respect		Samoan
Tolerance	Others are treated with consideration and sensitivity, the physical environment is maintained and cultural, spiritual values and societal rules are adopted by all.	Universal
	The differences and diversity within society is respected and accommodated.	Samoan

Chapter 5 has provided an overview of Samoan education policies that provides a framework for operating educational practices in Samoa. The education policies outlined throughout Chapter 5 thus indicate the inadequacy between the

policies, and the educational interests and needs of Samoan people. Most Samoan educational policies have contradicted Samoan cultural values. Some policies, as outlined in this chapter, also embed something that most Samoan individuals have not practiced before in their families or in their villages. The social, cultural, educational and technical experiences brought by individuals into the classroom make it difficult for students to comprehend school materials and resources. It leads to a high failure rate for most students in schools. In addition, ongoing restructuring of Samoa's education system also contributes to the problems, where most teachers and principals also expected to be educated with the new educational changes before the implementation of the new educational changes. The following chapter discusses the findings from lecturers, in-service teachers, principals, and Samoan cultural and academic experts. The discussion in the next chapter will feature participants' responses on Samoan cultural values and its relevance to family, church and improving educational development in Samoa.

Chapter 6: **ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION: LECTURERS, INSERVICE TEACHERS AND SAMOAN ACADEMIC AND CULTURAL LEADERS**

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter begins with an introduction of participants, followed by the discussion of emerging themes from the interviews and focus group. The first theme concerns the characteristics of Samoan cultural values normally expected of student teachers in the FoE. The second theme focuses on hybrid cultural values, where participants discuss the transformation of Samoan cultural values as situated in different periods of time from ancient Samoa, missionary, colonisation, through to post-colonisation and globalisation. The third theme analyses the new Samoan life around the concepts of ambivalence and mimicry. Lastly, the importance of partnerships between the school and village is discussed.

The conclusion will provide an overview of different themes and sub-themes according to the participants' opinions. It will also showcase values and meanings presented by participants. Overall, the data reaffirms the mix and blend of pre-European, missionary, and post-colonial values.

The different standpoints presented by participants are based on questions in interviews, and group discussions. The different opinions derived from the data are used to measure stability, and consistency of each theme and sub-theme. Therefore, participants' knowledge and perceptions towards the aim and purpose of the research study assist with the provision of significant information in relation to Samoan society. My standpoint, as an indigenous researcher during *talanoa* and *nofo*, requires me to ensure that participants' voices are heard.

6.2 BACKGROUND OF PARTICIPANTS

The six interviewees involved in the interview category have contributed to the educational, political, social, and cultural development of Samoa in many ways. Interviewee One: A former political leader of Samoa who currently holds one of the most prestigious and recognised positions in Samoa. He is a high chief and currently holds numerous important high chief titles in his villages. He is well known for his writings, and has been a guest speaker on ancient and modern Samoan cultural ways of living at universities around the world.

Interviewee Two: He is a spokesperson on cultural issues and former university Lecturer of Samoan language at the NUS. He has been an educator and holds numerous orator chief titles from his village. He is currently a deputy chief executive officer for one of the government ministries. He also hosts a television talk show which involves debating cultural issues with village chiefs.

Interviewee Three: She is a Samoan educator and writer. She is the former Dean of the FoE at the NUS. She has also written education articles about Samoa, and she regularly conducts research into leadership and other educational areas.

Interviewee Four: A former teacher and Samoan scholar who also has numerous *matai* (chief) titles from his villages. He is currently the Vice-Chancellor for the NUS. He is an author of many articles and books on Samoan culture that relate to the old and new governance style, as well as other issues in Samoa.

Interviewee Five: She is an educator and has been a *matai* (chief) title holder for many years. She is an author of educational articles concerning the Samoan Teachers College in the past and present. Some of her writings encompass the history of education in Samoa and the hardship faced by Samoans during educational changes from time to time. She was the former principal of the Teachers College and currently heads the Adult Education Department in the National University of Samoa.

Interviewee Six: He was a former church leader, a retired pastor and theological college lecturer in one of the largest denomination colleges in Samoa.

Currently, he holds an important role as the leader of all the major denominations in Samoa. He is a prominent member of the government's advisory committee on religious and cultural matters. Interviewee Six is also an author of religious and cultural books based on the past and present.

The next group of participants consists of lecturers from the FoE at the NUS. All these lecturers taught in schools before they become teacher educators. Lecturers two, four and five have been with the FoE for over seven years, while lecturers one and three have been with the faculty for less than five years.

The last group of participants is comprised of teachers from two different primary schools. This group of teachers was categorised into those trained at *Malifa* Teachers College and those trained at the Faculty of Education at the National University of Samoa. Teachers from the Faculty of Education were numbered 3, 4, 6 and 7. Teachers from Malifa were labelled as 1, 2, 5, 8 and 10. Teacher 9 was trained both at the Malifa Teachers' College and the Faculty of Education.

6.3 SAMOAN CULTURAL VALUES

The study provides different views on Samoan cultural values and their relevance in people's life situation in the family, school, and public places. The participants defined Samoan cultural values in relation to the way Samoans behave in different social and cultural activities. These explanations of Samoan cultural values are derived from participants' daily social and cultural activities. Samoan values, as defined by these participants, were the ideal Samoan way of living. These Samoan cultural values, according to the participants, unite families and maintain solidarity in villages and in the whole nation. The accomplishment of such solidarity is through the sharing of similar oral traditions and cultural values, ideas and beliefs amongst themselves.

The *talanoa* and *nofo* session with participants provided some concrete information regarding the importance of Samoan cultural values to Samoan people. The stories provided by participants (*au seepapa* — weavers) assisted the researcher (*matuauu* — master of weavers) to weave a rich and powerful definition of Samoan cultural values. As a result of *talanoa and nofo*, meaningful information and

powerful narratives of ownership, claiming, testimonies, remembering, creativity and reframing emerge. This data originates from years of experiences of Samoan life, which was mainly captured by seeing, listening and practicing.

The participants' standpoint derives from their *talanoa* and *nofo* about the Samoan way of life. In fact, this is in relation to what participants perceived as Samoan cultural values now situated in a heterogeneous system:

Samoa will have no future if we don't revive these things, because survival for any country does not depend on the lands, money, or the strength and mental ability, but a nation's survival depends on the constitutions, history and customs and all these three things that can guide the mind and soul of a person. (Interviewee 1)

This is the foundation of my life because this is the testimony that passes down from one generation to another from my ancestors. (Interviewee 1)

For Interviewee 1, people get identity through their history, language and cultural values, beliefs, and ideas that pass down from one generation to another. This is a foundation or core principle of identity. Samoan cultural values are interpreted as a testimony or as a story of what life should be like for Samoans. According to Interviewee 1, a Samoan life consists of an identity (family titles, lands, language and culture) which classifies you as a Samoan. To be a Samoan includes everything, because a person cannot be fully identified as a Samoan unless they are truly connected with their family titles, lands, language, and culture.

Interviewee 1's testimony is similar to stories that tell about the experiences of people physically, spiritually, culturally, intellectually, and psychologically. This type of testimony is "also a form through which the voice of a 'witness' is accorded space and protection" (p. 144). Tuhiwai-Smith (1999) defined "indigenous testimonies as a way of talking about an extremely painful event or series of events" (p.144). Further, it is a testimony that was formerly shaped and structured by missionary and colonisers, and is now reclaimed by Interviewee 1 so that it can be reconstructed, reframed, re-theorised, re-conceptualised and re-contextualised to be meaningful, significant and recognised in a globalised world.

Some participants are now referring to Samoan cultural values as a treasured way of life, precious and important to Samoan people:

Samoan values are a treasured way of life. I think for me, cultural practices competence is important in my past, in my present, and of course I would love the future generation to acquire. (Interviewee 3)

Samoan values are these things that are so precious and important to the Samoan people. When you received something from someone, you show your cultural values by saying ‘thank you’; when you ask for something, you show your respect by saying ‘please’; when you walk in front of people, you lower your head and say ‘excuse me’ (Teacher 3).

Samoan values are very important to Samoan people. These are values that originate from inside our families. If you value your family, you will then be able to show respect at all times when speaking and walking. (Teacher 4)

Participants interpreted Samoan cultural values as treasures, important and a precious way of life. Their narratives emphasise connectedness with their environment, ancestors, lands and family chiefly titles. Smith (1999) echoed the same thought by saying that, “creation stories link people through genealogy to the land, to stars and other places in the universe, to birds and fish, animals, insects and plants” (p. 148). What is implied here is that the making and creating of these stories intersect with the person’s physical environment and psychological being, which then completes the whole person. This idea of wholeness for Samoans is based on their consciousness of their social and cultural situations, one that is now situated in a hybrid system. To maintain its relevancy to Samoan social and cultural activities, Samoan cultural values have to be re-conceptualised and re-contextualised within this hybrid system (Sajed, 2006).

Further, participants argued that people were allowed to produce their own social and cultural understanding, in accordance with their experiences from the past in comparison with the outside world. This coexists with other testimonies, where participants portrayed Samoan cultural values in relation to people’s behaviours.

Samoan cultural values are represented by a certain way of behaving in social and cultural activities as these comments illustrate:

Samoan values are displayed by behaviour and mannerism. Samoan values make a Samoan proud of his identity. Samoan values is everything that makes your identity true, or makes your faasinomaga (identity) shining all the time. (Interviewee 2)

Values are behaviours that are so precious to you, well known, or that people knows you by, that you are a real Samoan. (Teacher 2)

Samoan values are to do with the best behaviours that you should display. These are things such as respect and the relationship of one person to another. (Principal 2)

Samoan values are actions and behaviours of people and they are good things. These actions and behaviours have started from our ancestors back in those days. (Teacher 5)

Samoan values display in your behaviours to other people (Teacher 6).

Participants compared Samoan cultural values with people's behaviours, as well as something that identifies who you are as a Samoan. Principal 2 claimed that these Samoan cultural behaviours and actions were passed down from our ancestors. Teacher 5 and Teacher 6 suggested that people's behaviours are connected to their cultural and social ways of living. Furthermore, being positioned in the 'third space' allows participants the freedom to weave their stories in ways they are comfortable with. For instance, a Samoan can be easily identified by the way they walk, sit, eat and speak. In other words, participants' believed values would be demonstrated in actions not just in spoken words. For participants, it is a symbol of displaying appropriate behaviours towards other people. Participants referred to these cultural ways of socialisation as an identity of who they are as Samoans:

I consider values or Samoanness as specific things. I like to refer to values as characteristics of identity. This is about your family, chiefly title, women's committee, high chiefs' place or the orator's house, the land and your language. (Interviewee 2)

There is another thing which is called 'VA' (space - relationship), which means you know your relationship to your dad; you know your relationship to the faifeau (pastor) to your brother and to your sister. (Interviewee 3)

As noted above by interviewees 2 and 3, Samoan cultural values relate to identity or the way individuals identify who they are as Samoans. For Interviewee 2, Samoan cultural values are characteristics of identity, such as chiefly titles, lands and language. These are Samoan values that identify a Samoan in their place of origin. Interviewee 3 noted that having a good relationship between two people is a value in a Samoan culture. To be heard is to speak up and voice your concern. This is similar to hooks's (1990) suggestion that, "to make my voice I had to speak, to hear myself" (p. 337). In this study, the above excerpts represent the voices of Samoan participants situated in this third space, and how they want to re-construct, re-appropriate and re-contextualise Samoan cultural values in a globalised world.

Interviewee 4 argued differently, where he refers to values as a social construct. That means Samoan cultural values vary over time, depending on people's living situations. Most of the values described by interviewee 4 are not shared by all Samoan people. Some acts are based on love and sharing, while some Samoan people seem to be adopting western ways of living. This could be interpreted as a change in the cultural value system of Samoan people. In fact, Interviewee 4 indicated that value is a social construct. This is how Interviewee 4 perceived the life of Samoan people today. He commented on how a person acquires different values and dreams in life:

A value is not a permanent thing, it's a social construct, it is something that constructs by people and can be removable. (Interviewee 4)

The reason for this change in people's value system is due to their current environment. Up until today, people still carried forward that Samoan people are kind and loving people, but no, not all people are like that. (Interviewee 4)

The change in the value system, as echoed by Interviewee 4, is not a new phenomenon in the Samoan society. This change marked the beginning of Christianisation, colonisation, and post-colonisation in Samoa. Changes that have occurred in the Samoan value system at different periods of time represent larger global changes. As a result, it impacts on Samoans' original cultural places and position as these were gradually replaced by different cultural and social value systems.

In particular, globalisation alters culture and assimilates people. Changes in the Samoan value system occurred after the missionary arrival. Post-colonisation brought new changes, as economic value began to dominate indigenous social and cultural ways of living. The next section focuses on new values, presumed to be Samoan cultural values. These values are also identified by participants as western and religious values.

6.3.1 SAMOAN TRADITIONAL VALUE SYSTEM FROM HOMOGENISATION TO HETEROGENISATION

Samoan cultural values have transitioned from a singular to plural value system. Interviewee 4 suggested that there are other new concepts that are now valued by Samoan people. These are education, church donations, family contribution, European houses, and community expectations. Education, in particular, is a new value to Samoan people, because of the rewards that are received at the completion of education. Western education seems to have influenced the social and cultural environment of Samoan people. Interviewee 4 described education as an important aspect of Samoan life. For example, interviewee 4 noted how the present education system has made people budget conscious when donating to church. Some of his comments were:

Because I am talking about changing, or evolving, and that is why I am saying now that education is a new value. It wasn't a value back then. (Interviewee 4)

Education is important, I don't know about today or because I am getting old, when someone goes for a scholarship. I also want to aspire like other people. (Interviewee 4)

Church is a new thing, like it was yesterday. It was only 200 years old. But service it's an old thing in Samoa, such as serving the chief, serving the family. So when you ask if it is a real Samoan value this thing of services to the church, then you can say it is not, that if church and service goes together. However, service in the Samoan context is a value, but church is a new thing. (Interviewee 4)

This view indicates the belief that Samoan cultural values are a social construct. Furthermore, Samoan people also value different styles, objects and systems based on a particular period of life, such as in ancient Samoa during missionary times, colonisation and now within a globally connected Samoa. As noted

by Interviewee 4, education and church are two recently new important values to Samoan people. Western education, as indicated by Interviewee 4, is a valued by Samoan people as presenting an opportunity to a better life. The value of church, as described by Interviewee 4, is new, but service in Samoa is an old value. As a result, Interviewee 4 explained that serving is an old practice in Samoa that relates to giving all they have to support the church, family and village.

However, teachers 4 and 2 argued differently, indicating that the way people look is also a Samoan cultural value. Teacher 4 explained that boys' and girls' physical appearances can represent Samoan cultural values. For instance, short hair and long hair respectively were valued for boys and girls as conforming to suitable ways of appearing Samoan. Similarly, Teacher 2 suggested that a girl and boy who understand how to carry themselves in front of people symbolised a Samoan person with Samoan cultural values.

Many changes with Samoan cultural values, such as the change in the way we look. For instance, boys these days like wearing their hair long, unlike those days, that young boys always cut their hair nicely and short. That is how a Samoan boy should look like. Girls use to have their hair long, and wear appropriate clothes in public places. (Teacher 4)

A Samoan person who knows how to carried him/herself in front of other people is known as someone who understand his/her Samoan cultural values. (Teacher 2)

The emergence of new values and the change in the old Samoan system is problematic for some participants. Teachers 2 and 4 viewed Samoan people's appearances as a value. The adoption of new ways of living by the younger generation tends to change parts of Samoan cultural values. As a result, it has created new values that contradict with traditional Samoan cultural values. Some participants said embracing the values of education and church is very important. These new values dominate how people socialise. In fact, the emergence of globalisation in post-colonialism brought many new values and changes as described by participants.

The powerful influence of post-colonisation and the emergence of globalisation convince Samoans today that western education is important. This western education

is now mixed and blended with Samoan cultural values, beliefs, and ideas to formulate a hybrid education system. However, western values, beliefs, and ideas are more dominant in this system than local. As argued by Sharp (2009), “the West’s knowledge and representation of the rest of the world were part and parcel of its domination of it: in other words, the west spoke for the other” (p. 110). The knowledge and skills indigenous people learn in their own education system belongs to the West. Therefore, their education system is still controlled and operated by the values, beliefs, and ideas of the West.

Most participants refer to this hybrid education as dominated by a western education model, which is seen by most indigenous people as an opportunity to a better life. Indeed, it is an avenue to a better living for most Samoan families, if children are willing to obtain western knowledge that originates from this western education. Western education, for these participants, has provided the social and cultural means of life, which represents a heterogeneous system in Samoa. The mixing and blending of Samoan and western values has created new knowledge, meaning, socialisation and cultural behaviours for Samoan people. Interviewee 5 sees this blending as a cause for concern. There is a deep concern regarding the new living styles in Samoa, and the disciplining of Samoan children in the family and at school:

Sometimes I am frightened by the new upbringing of Samoan kids today. It doesn’t have a lot of Samoan discipline in it. The way children express themselves freely, relates to European’s style of teaching, but it is unacceptable in Samoa. Samoa will refer to those kids as very mischievous (ulavavale). For instance, Samoans will say things such as those kids’ talks too much, just tell that kid to stop talking. But if a European looked at a kid like that, they will turn around and say, what a dynamic kid that is, what a bold one, and what a creative kid. These are the different interpretation of behaviours between Samoans and Europeans. (Interviewee 5)

Interviewee 5 highlights another transformation of the Samoan value system. This social and cultural change reveals the mixture of traditional Samoan and European styles of discipline. Interviewee 4 provides a dissimilar example by

comparing new and old dwellings in Samoa, as an example of value change due to globalisation and economic change:

Samoan guest houses are open, and girls' job is to clean the house every day in case they have some guests coming in. This is the kind of life that Samoan was living in the last 60 or 30 years ago, but if we look at it today in Samoa, almost every family has a European house that has bedrooms. The education influences the people and their behaviours and value. (Interviewee 4)

Samoans continue to experience transformation of most parts of their Samoan lifestyle into western ways of living due to new changes. The strong effects of globalisation in terms of economic activities, technological changes and media activities (Appadurai, 2000) have now impacted upon Samoan people. Interviewee 4 has confirmed that the change reflects the times. That is, people make changes to their life situations, because the current life is dominated by global economic values and ideas.

One way to learn about, and comprehend, these global economic values and ideas is through the hybrid education system in Samoa. Hybrid education teaches people about specific knowledge, skills and ideas. Interviewee 4 suggests that the influence of colonisation, and globalisation on Samoa's education system, has gradually transformed people's perceptions about the importance of Samoan cultural values in their current living situations. This is driven by the genuine rewards that global education offers the Samoans, such as economic and social opportunities. The next theme, offers a discussion of the features of Samoan cultural values in the FoE.

6.3.2 Features of Samoan traditional values in teacher education

In this section participants discuss their views on the Samoan cultural values in teacher education. The education policies produced by the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (MESC) indicate the importance of Samoan values, stating that, "Core values of the *fa'asamoa* must underpin academic, social behaviour and cultural excellence" (MESC, 2006, p.10). This is noted under one of the five key concepts (quality) chosen by MESC to guide policies, and practices for education in Samoa for the next nine years. However, the application of values relating to *fa'asamoa* (Samoan way) stated under the concept of quality was not fully explained

in the education policy. The idea behind the five key concepts, as described in chapter five, is to ensure improvement for quality education. In addition, the educational policies in general gave no indication of how students should behave in school, but refers to *fa'asamoa* in general to reinforce academic social and cultural behaviours. Responses from participants unveil how students are ideally expected to behave while interacting with one another. These participants refer to these Samoan cultural values as significant for student teachers' daily interactions:

Respect, obeying the teachers, parents, knows the relationship, 'va tapuia' (sacred relationship). (Lecture 2)

Our Samoan values such as respect, good relationship between students and Lecturers, and obedience are all the good things that needs by student teachers to obtain. (Lecturer 4)

Our teachers want our children to obtain respect, and to know how to work together, and that they should raise their hands before they answer a question. That is what we want, such as respecting the teacher, and parents, because those are values that guide the life of people in Samoa. (Teacher 4)

The excerpts above from Lecturer 2, Lecturer 4 and Teacher 4 have indicated the importance of obedience and mutual respect between students and teachers. The participants indicated that these values are significant in school, and this also helps students and teachers to respect one another. The students must know how to behave and respect their elders, senior teachers and principal. This kind of behaviour is crucial and acceptable in the *faa'samoa* in social interactions, for example, dealing with other teachers as well as students in the classroom. Similarly, Interviewee 4 and Teacher 7 also indicate their support for student teachers acquiring respectful behaviour to promote quality education in Samoa and to attain respectful behaviours while undertaking teacher training:

This is how I want to build this person that comes from here; it is humility, secondly, respect, thirdly, valuing his/her calling to be a teacher. In order for these things to become effective in school is to do with serving the teachers and principals with food or a glass of water. (Interviewee 4)

O le ala i le pule o le tautua literally means, the way to authority is to serve. (Teacher 7)

New teachers must always come into school first thing in the morning and to be the last one to leave after school. (Teacher 1)

Student teachers' behaviour has always been an issue for teachers, lecturers and the community. As stated by Interviewee 4 and Teacher 7, a Samoan person is someone who knows how to serve. That is the expectation in most Samoan people, especially in teacher education. For instance, in Samoa, you must serve the chief before you become the next chief. In addition, Teacher 1 also suggested that new teachers must stay behind after school and be the first to arrive in the morning. These actions symbolise respect and obedience towards principals and senior staff members. It also symbolises good service to the school. Some participants indicated that new teachers must always listen and obey those that came before them.

Confusion and frustration exists regarding the purpose and aim of the current Samoan education system. I believe this is due to some misunderstanding of the current purpose of education by most Samoan people, especially since Samoan cultural values appear to have very little place of significance in the current Samoan education system. This is in parallel with the next views, where the participants also appear to hold this belief that some values thought of as Samoan values:

It is quite interesting, in a way, and it is also contradictory with the expectation inside our culture, traditionally, in terms of traditions, like, maybe, the respect, but the way its manifested, slightly different in terms of behaviour, like for example, when you ask a question, then they raise their hand, so remember raising a hand is not part of our culture. Sometimes we tend to wait for people to pick us rather than trying to appear forward, because that is the respect in Samoa. (Interviewee 5)

I know cultural values are the student's identity, which indicate where you come from. If our Samoan values are important to us, then we should also value education in every other things, especially education in the classroom. (Teacher 7)

If you don't have Samoan values, you will unable to teach. This is why Samoan values are very important in school, so that teaching and learning can be easy to do. (Teacher 3).

Interestingly, teachers 3 and 7 both regard good behaviour as a Samoan cultural value, and strongly emphasise its importance in school. Teacher 3 indicated that good teaching and learning is a result of the presence of Samoan cultural values in the classroom. In fact, Teacher 7 noted that education is a Samoan value, which also indicates that most of these new values are slowly becoming Samoan values. As

suggested by Interviewee 5, raising a hand is not a traditional Samoan value, but it is now treated by students and Samoan people as a Samoan value.

This is a true indication of mixing and blending, where people assimilate their values and beliefs. That same action is evident in the next section, where most participants merge Christian and western values with Samoan values. This is paralleled with the idea proposed by Bhabha (1994) in his study of hybridity, where he suggests that this hybrid system will provide indigenous people with more time to create meanings and understanding about cultural diversity.

6.4 HYBRID CULTURAL VALUES

Many values that most Samoans have thought were traditional values were actually transformed after Christianisation and colonisation. This study finds that many values, customs, and social and cultural activities have changed, while Samoans still see most of these as their own. This signals a hybrid living situation from the beginning of Christianisation and colonisation in Samoa. This is related by the following views expressed by participants, where they described the differences between the values in Samoa, western life and Christianity:

Missionary tries to merge good things from Samoan culture with Christian beliefs and values. The coming of Christianity into Samoa was to change the bad to good. That tells us that Samoan behaviour was not good during pre-missionary. (Interviewee 6)

Samoan values such as love, respect and obedience have the same meanings with Europeans. However, the only differences are people's actions that characterise each value. Children's duties in the home are their service to their parents, and then they will have all the blessings. (Interviewee 1)

Currently, we now have beggars on the street, because everyone has a family. Yes, because if there is no food in that family, then you go to the other family to eat. While walking on the road, and all of a sudden someone call out to come over, and then you eat there. That is Samoan culture, your turn is today, and my turn is tomorrow. We work together, because this is our real Samoan culture and that is working together. (Interviewee 6)

The above excerpts indicate that it is a Samoan value to share and love one another, however, this has also been the promise made by Christianity. Furthermore, Interviewee 6 indicated that Christianity has changed some parts of the Samoan

culture during pre-missionary period to be aligned with their own teaching. Interviewee 1 has indicated that good services to parents, chiefs and family represent Samoan cultural values. Indeed, Samoan cultural values display the differences between Samoan culture and the outside world.

However, Interviewee 6 is disappointed with some Samoans' unkind behaviours in relation to this value of sharing. For instance, some Samoans are still enjoying accepting things rather than returning the favour. Interviewee 6 has seen this as a problem, where other people are enjoying their leisure by taking advantage of hardworking people. Therefore, such problems were viewed by Interviewee 6 as undesirable in the Samoan culture.

6.4.1 Colonisation and globalisation influences

The influence of global economic activities in Samoa is devastating and it is hard for most Samoans to survive due to the high cost of living. Globalisation has changed how people think and live. This is referred to as the “rapidly developing and ever-densening network of interconnections and interdependences that characterise modern social life” (Tomlinson, 1999, p. 2). As a result, globalisation connects developed and under-developed nations, by introducing developing and poorer nations to a life that most have no experience of at all (Held, 2004; Scholte, 2000). As an example, Interviewee 6 has indicated that Samoa now has beggars, which is a sign of cultural and social change. A problem that may occur in the globalisation experiment is the abuse of the new global system and avoidance of the old system. That is in parallel with the view of Interviewee 6, which described the old and new system as both good, if people would take control of them:

There are no contradictions (feteenaiga) between the old and new Samoa. This is to do with church and cultural values during the arrival of Christianity. Missionary were responsible to choose cultural values from the Samoan culture and inserted in to Christian ways of living. This is known as the Christianising of Samoan cultural values. But Samoan culture, if you love that person, then that person will love you back, yes when Christianity arrives, Samoans were reliable individuals and helping one another. That is the origin of these words, ‘the things that you give grows and things that you hold back don’t grow’ (e tupu mea ave a le tupu mea e teu pea). (Interviewee 6)

The influence of the past in Samoa continues to dominate people's everyday living, educational, social, cultural, political and economic situations. This has been asserted by Wisker (2007) as neo-colonialism, and she suggested that "although independence has been achieved, education, economics and power systems have not moved on. In effect the land is still colonised and old values and rules still operate, even if only in the vestiges of colonial laws and in the mindsets of people who find it difficult to shake off colonial views and behaviours so soon" (p. 51). This is the reality of life in Samoa. That is, missionaries and New Zealanders have contributed so much to education, politics, and social and cultural values, beliefs and ideas for people to follow. Thus Samoans' current living situations still follows the missionary and colonial teaching which is now situated in post-colonisation. As expressed by Lecturer 4, mixing and blending of values now sits in this 'third space':

Because nowadays, our Samoan values are integrated with Christian values, that we now call Samoan cultural values. You can also identify people like that, because they don't go to church. They don't value that situation, because in the Samoan way today, the village still encourage or force people to go church. (Lecturer 4)

Samoan life has for many years been closely associated with Christianity. In fact, all Samoans have been committed Christians. Christian values became part of Samoans' own cultural values. However, with neo-liberalism and colonisation emerging, and eventually changing how people live from being committed Christians to becoming economic strivers. It represents global economic change in Samoa, where 'money' has become an important value.

Some other changes that were brought in by globalisation have varied in regard to the cultural and social living situations of people, such as in the way they speak, look, clothes they wear, and the food they eat. (Vaa, 2006). These changes may not be seen as negative aspects of life; but, with a shift from old to new Samoan lifestyles, this depends very much on how people interpret and approach these new changes in their life situations.

The following views address the global changes that participants witnessed, highlighting how the changes differ from the former Samoan way of life:

Most Samoa has lost the idea of making Samoan food in comparison to the olden days, which they now eat modern food. Those are changes with our people, that they don't appreciate their culture and their Samoan ways. (Teacher 2)

Speaking is another sign of obtaining poor Samoan values, because not only there is no respect in their responses where they must use appropriate Samoan words when interacting with people of higher status. (Principal 2)

There are things that need to relate to students/children today, and I think you are expected of that, in terms of physical changes, way we look, the way we dress up, but more so, the influence of that terminates aspect of life now. It's really looking at education, and the way that influence the way we think and the way we talk. But I also think to believe that, even though students are changing in terms of traditions, I don't think, European education has anything to do with it. I think what we need to do is ensure that education does not run out of the culture. (Interviewee 3)

Teacher 2 noted that eating modern food was something Samoans were not familiar with in the past. Principal 2 suggested that speaking is a sign of change. She further explained that student teachers forgot or that they deliberate ignore using appropriate Samoan terminologies while communicating with elders. Interviewee 3 refers to changes in terms of physical appearance, such as the way they look in school. These new changes, as indicated by participants, are the reality of present life in Samoa. In fact, most countries including Samoa blame globalisation as the cause of social, cultural and education change (Luke, 2006).

Global change seems to allow economic values to redirect the cultural values of developing and poorer nations. Current living situations in Samoa mean most people now find it difficult to manage. This new global mixing and blending of local and global values contradicts Samoan cultural values, beliefs and ideas. This is in parallel with the next theme, which is about a new Samoan life based on ambivalence and mimicry.

6.5 A NEW SAMOAN LIFE BASED ON AMBIVALENCE AND MIMICRY

The aim of post-colonial discourses is to refine the political, educational, social and cultural positions of indigenous people living in former colonised nations. In post-colonial discourses the indigenous standpoint advocates re-construction, re-contextualisation and re-appropriation of social, cultural, educational issues. During

colonisation, colonial authority supported indigenous people to mimic western cultural values, beliefs and ideas with the hope that they would speak the language of the coloniser, would change their life styles and participate in formal education (Davidson, 1967; Masterman, 1958; Meleisea, 1987). This expectation led to Samoans misinterpreting western knowledge, skills, social and cultural behaviours as their own. Indeed, this process is described by Bhabha (2005) as an “ambivalence of colonial authority” (p. 251), where people tried to mimic the other but never succeeded — they have always failed. In addition, Bhabha (2005) refers to it as the “ambivalence of mimicry”, where people contradict their thinking and actions with western ideas of life in politics, education, social life and culture. As Bhabha (2005) states, the “ambivalence of colonial authority repeatedly turns from mimicry – a difference that is almost nothing but not quite to menace – a difference that is almost total but not quite” (p. 251). This is supported by the following views by participants in regards to their observation of Samoan students in social and cultural activities:

Whoever speaks good English; they should also be good speakers of their own language and should understand about their own customary ways of living. That is another thing with our children, although that they speak good Samoan, but they always try to make their language colourful. However, the person that understands what you're saying may turn around and say that your English is bad. To me, to prepare these students properly, to acquire humbleness and chiefly ways (behaviours), and when they perform their duties, then it tells people the kind of person you are. (Interviewee 4)

So many changes now affecting the youths these days and the way I look at it, students walk around with phones, laptops and iPod, which create new behaviours, and its distracting them from listening to the teacher. (Lecturer 2)

Many changes with the values, because these changes are related to the media, family, and societal problems, maybe some of our values like respect, good relationships, obedience, all those things, very important, but if you note from in the past and the present, there are big changes. Some of the changes may not be beneficial to our society or to teachers college. (Lecturer 3)

Interviewee 4 strongly emphasised the importance of being literate both in Samoan and in English, whereas those students who tried to mimic English speaking and Western behaviour have continued to have problems due to their limited

understanding of both. He further described that, acquiring knowledge in languages and customary Samoan ways, as well as chiefly behaviours, will ensure a full completion of a Samoan person who one day becomes a teacher. However, Lecturer 2 blames global resources as the cause of unwanted behaviours with student teachers. He states that resources like laptops, Internet, iPod and mobile phones are becoming problematic to most students. Participant Lecturer 5 indicated that the influence of the media, family and society as a whole is the cause of the change in people's behaviours. Lecturer 5 described this change as both negative and positive, and most of these changes in terms of behaviour are irrelevant in teachers' college.

The behaviours, speech, materials and objects students now have are all due to the influence of economic values, beliefs, ideas, and technology and media, as a result of globalisation. This is also reflected in the way these students think and behave. The student teachers' uncontrolled behaviour, as described by participants, is also a symbol of change in student teachers' value system. As a result, Samoan cultural values can no longer control students' behaviour today.

These global changes now influence most Samoan families and their cultural values. This transformation in the Samoan cultural values also affects the education system. For instance, Interviewee 4 explained the different types of value and changes that most Samoan families now experience differs from the reality of Samoan cultural values:

The new values are important to the family, such as economic developments in relation to a family business, and that is a value to them, which is valuing the making of the business. If you go to another family, they don't value those things – they value good partnerships with other families. However, when you go to another family, their people go to school and be educated and that is what they value, it is to take their children to school. (Interviewee 4)

The view by Interviewee 4 indicated a change of Samoan values within the Samoan community. This displays a diversity of values. For instance, Samoan families now imitate Western ways of living. The view also reinforced the significance of community values.

The coming of Christianity, colonisation, post-colonialism and the emergence of globalisation in the lives of Samoan people has changed how people perceive the

world today. The values, beliefs and ideas brought by the colonisers were cemented within the heart and soul of Samoan people. The influence from the past is irremovable, and it will always exist in the social, cultural and educational making of post-colonial society like Samoa. As Said (1993) notes, this is mimicry where through imitation, the values, beliefs and ideas of western cultures are incorporated into the Samoan cultural system that then forms a hybrid space to accommodate the new changes. The next section is a discussion about the social and cultural behaviours of student teachers in the Faculty of Education. This particular section of analysis focuses on the discussion of the social and cultural differences and tensions between Samoan life, Western life and Christianity in the modernised world.

6.5.1 Student teachers' behaviours in and out of the classroom

The rapid movement of globalisation in the post-colonial era has contributed enormously to the changes in the social, cultural and educational landscape in Samoa. Furthermore, globalisation has also accelerated the changes to the static ways of life in a former colonised society. The emergence of globalisation in a small island nation has created more economic interests and needs, as well as creating problems for those with economic insecurities. This modifies the way people think, behave and socialise, while adding a new style of living that is incompatible with their usual cultural ways of living.

It is important to acknowledge that some of the inappropriate behaviours displayed by Samoan student teachers are also found in western societies, developing nations and poorer nations. Inappropriate behaviours are defined by these participants as disrespect and disobedience, such as missing classes, disrespecting senior teachers and principals, as well as limited knowledge of their Samoan culture.

Participants also claimed that these inappropriate behaviours are prohibited in the Samoan culture; however, these behaviours are also forbidden in public places in Western countries and are against religious ethics. The following excerpts describe the different characteristics that are seen in student teachers in Samoa, as discussed by participants:

Most new teachers in schools think that they are bigger and brighter than other teachers. People that go to university are knowledgeable, basically they know everything. You should know how to speak, should know how to respect, know how to sit down, you know how to put the older person before you, don't just interrupt when an old man/woman is trying to speak. When you do so, the only impression to other people is that you are arrogant. But in the Samoan way, when speaking in a meeting, it is done in a hierarchical way; the top person may speak first, then the second in line and so on and so forth. (Interviewee 4)

When I was in teachers college and out for teaching practices, I knew I went with the village name and family. Now, I am teaching and I always hear these words 'those that come after must listen to those that come before' (Faalogo muli mai ia mua mai). The old ones have shown us many good things such as wearing proper clothes and maintain good behaviours. (Teacher 4)

When a new teacher comes out of teachers college, they will also know, like what others were saying, those that come after must listen to those that came before them. (Principal 1)

These messages describe the kinds of student teachers that Samoan society expects to see in the future classroom. As indicated by Interviewee 4, student teachers were received as not trying their best to be culturally appropriate as well as academically successful. For instance, in the traditional culture, the younger person must not speak while older people are conversing. Furthermore, Interviewee 4 indicated that senior teachers in school expect new teachers to listen. Teacher 4 and Principal 1 have echoed that, the usual saying with senior teachers in school, the expectation is *faalogo muli mai ia mua mai*, the late arrivals must listen to the first arrival. Participants have explained that new teachers must obey senior teachers and the principal.

Interviewees 5 and 2 indicated contradictions between school culture and Samoan family culture. These participants suggested that Samoan teachers' and students' values are not the same as those of the school culture. However, as indicated by the participants, some Samoan families have dissimilar cultural and social practices from those of the school classroom. As interviewees 2 and 5 have indicated, the classroom model is a western type model, where students have been provided with the freedom to respond at any time without the teachers' permission

during teaching and learning. In fact, this student and teacher classroom model is prohibited in the Samoan home.

Interviewees 2 and 5 indicate that some Samoan families expect their children to remain silent when they are told to do something. As described by the Interviewee 5, a child who is nodding their head to the teacher, without a voice, could be expressing their way of culturally interacting with adults and parents in their home. This is also interpreted by Jones (1986) as social and cultural reproduction. That is, Samoan children tend to reproduce their home social and cultural practices in the classroom. Indeed, it is clear that colonisation and globalisation have a lot to do with the way people behave today:

Now we are teaching our teachers, were actually teaching the opposite. To teach the child individually, this individual kid, so that he/she can be bold, to be critical thinkers, not to be afraid, and bring all those things to the front. However, in a way the basic value is still, respect, but, it's manifested in a quite a different behaviour. (Interviewee 5)

It can be counterproductive, in terms of education. That if the child only shakes his/her head without saying a word, and the teacher will then assume that the child understands instead he/she doesn't, and because it is hard to respond. That is how they have been taught at home, just to listen and don't ask any questions. So it is contradicting with that education theory 'education promotes independent thinking. (Interviewee 2)

The views indicate the kind of child or student teacher that society wants to see in the classroom. This child now born into this globalised economic competitive world, must acquire critical thinking, be an expert in reading and comprehension, and be analytical and not afraid to face challenges in life. Interviewees 2 and 5 also indicate that a child in the classroom must speak and converse with the teacher in order to understand. However, Interviewee 2 also added that this kind of communication between teachers and students is a problem in the Samoan culture, where parents and children have limited communication in the home. This is the focus of the next discussion which looks at the importance of relationships between parents and children, as well as between the schools and the communities.

6.6 THE IMPORTANCE OF PARTNERSHIPS BETWEEN THE SCHOOL AND VILLAGE

A community partnership is encouraged in Samoa, mainly between schools and villages. This government initiative was formulated to lessen teachers' and principals' school responsibilities, and for the village to be responsible for school maintenance (MESC, 2006). Moreover, school and village partnerships have also contributed towards assisting with students' behavioural problems in schools. This is also another way to inform the community about the current and future academic, physical, economic, social, and cultural developments of the school. Collaborative learning and working in groups is an important aspect of life in western society, where people are encouraged to share information. Indeed, it has become a value that Samoan school students must work together amongst themselves and with teachers to improve their learning.

Community partnership does not exist in tertiary institutions, but it is encouraged in other forms. This includes working together as a way of maintaining peace and harmony between the institutions and the general public. That is, families, village and districts should be self-motivated to assist one another, as well as to work together to ensure the betterment of their own schools. Community partnership is described as a collective effort to survive new educational, social, and cultural changes brought by developed nations and world agencies (MESC, 2006). This community partnership is a new form of global initiation preparing parents and village people for future social, cultural and educational consequences.

The education system in Samoa thus permits the rights to villages and districts to run their own school. This is another educational milestone, initiated by donor nations and world agencies. The idea was to give the villages the operation of their own local schools by protection for teachers, providing facilities, resources and maintenance of the whole school compound. The actual academic operation of the school is the responsibility of the MESC. The following excerpt focuses on the advantages and disadvantages of community partnership:

The community partnership is an important entity of education that needs good organisation and structure. This will help the teachers to operate

smoothly without worrying about the school compound during school hours and after. (Lecturer 1)

Lecturer 1 indicated the importance of community partnerships with the school. As emphasised by MESC (2006), community involvement in the school will minimise students' poor behaviours and lend support for children's education. In fact, Lecturer 1 suggested that teachers and the school will have more time to teach students if parents and the community can work together to fulfil other school obligations, such as minding school resources and materials. Therefore, the absence of community participation in schools' activities may problematise children's chances for higher achievement.

6.6.1 Appropriate and inappropriate behaviours in school

Interviewee 2 stated that the improvement in living standards of families and villages impacts on improvements to schools, thereby bringing better learning and teaching in the classroom. This is in relation to good governance in the village, where the village *matais* works collaboratively with teachers and parents to build a good school.

It is best to improve the standard of living. You need to improve community life; community owns 80% of those resources in Samoa. In order for community to improve the standard of living out in the community, you need to improve community micro economy. So you need to improve all those community-based products and developments and the key to that is good governance. The most important ingredient for good governance is good thinking, healthy mind, and that's why, is very true that the slogan that we teachers often say, 'that success to education in life is through education'. (Interviewee 2)

Good partnerships between school and village *matais* have also produced schools with well-behaved students. Thus the presence of village *matais* in schools assists with the controlling of behaviours that are incompatible with Samoan cultural values, as indicated by most participants. Such inappropriate Samoan cultural behaviours can be displayed in the clothes young people wear, the way student

teachers or students converse with each other, and in the relationship between females and males:

It is inappropriate for female teachers to wear miniskirts and small tops or pants to work. This is not the way we were trained in the old teachers college. The new teachers teaching responsibilities are not conforming to Samoan cultural values. (Teacher 2)

There are differences with our times when we were in teachers college. As student teachers, we were cautious and very protective of the college, my parents and village name. (Teacher 4)

Student teachers never behaved badly in the past, because there were strict rules. They had behavioural issues, but they know their limits. But not like today, due to the many changes from overseas that have been mentioned. That is where we see the many different behaviours that are now displayed everywhere. (Lecturer 5)

Teachers 2 and 4 and Lecturer 5 pointed to cultural behavioural change between the old teachers' college and the FoE. These differences signify the change with student teachers' (FoE) cultural behaviour, which is inconsistent with Samoan cultural values. These cultural values are viewed as different to cultural behaviours acquired by student teachers in the old Teachers' College at Malifa. The participants also discussed the strict discipline used by the old Teachers' College lecturers and that students were protective of the college. They further noted the inappropriateness of some student teachers (FoE) physical appearance, and their social and cultural behaviours to teaching training.

These seemingly inappropriate cultural behaviours may be beyond Samoan people's control. This is because the individuals of today are exercising their human rights. The same right is enforced in the education system where, for example, teachers and parents are prohibited to punish children. Therefore, one may argue, that the reinforcement of school and community participation can be seen as a way to reduce unwanted behaviours, which may interfere with achieving quality education in Samoa. Ensuring effective school and community participation, however, can be a challenge, given the negative attitude that teachers seem to have towards parents' school involvement. For instance, Teacher 4 is unhappy with parents' close association with the school. She believes that the parents' role is to support their

children from home and avoid interfering with the teacher's role in the classroom. Teacher 2 described how she is dissatisfied with the idea of having parents around schools, due to the fact that teachers' job will not be done properly. Teacher 1 has echoed that most times these parents make false accusations such as teachers are hitting the children or that teachers do not do their job properly. Instead, parents should stay home and teach their children some respectful manners as well as helping them with their school work. The following excerpts represent teachers' disappointment with parents in schools:

Parents' other responsibility is to teach their children. And leave teachers' responsibilities to teachers. And if parents really want to help their children, then help their children from home. (Teacher 4)

Parents will always interfere with teacher's work. Parents shouldn't be here, because it is damaging the relationship between the teachers and students. But it is important for parents to perform their duty from home. (Teacher 2)

Firstly, if parents are not working, then they should help their children's homework. Parents need to look after their children by washing their uniforms and looking after their health. We teachers are also the parents to these children. (Teacher 1)

Teachers felt that their classroom performance and students learning will not be adequately satisfactory in relation to the five key concepts (quality, efficiency, equity, relevancy and sustainability) if parents continue to be in the school around their children's classrooms. However, the education policy (MESC, 2006) encourages collaboration between parents and teachers.

However, parents are encouraged to support their children's school work in their homes. Parents should not only mould the behaviour of the child, but they also need to help in their academic work. This is also the same with teachers who are required to teach behaviour and knowledge. Overall, it is to mould the child to acquire knowledge and behaviour as expected by society. It is more likely that, when these children are mature students and decide to become teachers, they will have had some understanding of what is acceptable and unacceptable behaviour in the Samoan culture.

6.7 CONCLUSION

In summary, Samoan cultural values, as described by participants, were important aspects of life to Samoan people. Samoan cultural values were part of Samoan history in the past and present, and participants have described these as treasures. Throughout *talanoa and nofo*, all participants weaved their stories in relation to Samoan cultural values differently. A number of participants referred to religious and western values as being similar to Samoan values. The data illustrates that for these participants, there are a set of Samoan cultural values in the social imaginary, which operate, in an effective manner, to govern the identities of Samoans. The current values that are assumed as Samoan cultural values were values that have been re-shaped by missionaries and colonisers after ancient Samoa.

Participants described Samoan culture as very special to the family and nation. For instance, some participants have referred to Samoan culture in relation to values as their identity and as a source of meaning in their life situations. Some participants indicated that Samoan cultural values were displayed by people's behaviour through their social and cultural activities. Some participants raised concerns regarding the similarities and differences between Samoan cultural and western values. Some actually admitted that some of the values utilised by Samoans in the classroom are western values. Samoan cultural values are currently identified as a mixture of Samoan and western cultural values, which is also referred to as a transition between homogenisation to heterogenisation. Based on these observations, there appears to be a misunderstanding on the part of the participants as to what defines real Samoan values and how they differ from religious and coloniser's values.

The notion of hybridity in this study reveals that some Samoans see their culture as static. However, Samoan values have been mixed and blended with Christian and western values. The change in Samoan values seems to have gone unnoticed by most of these participants, who fail to realise that the values that are currently operating in Samoan's everyday living, originated from a mixture of ingredients found in Samoa, Christian and western countries. The emergence of hybridity led to the existence of the third space or third culture in former colonised

societies. This third space or third culture provides participants with an opportunity to live and practice their social and cultural livings. The importance of the third space in this study is to represent the unheard voices of participants.

Due to the many economic, social, cultural and educational changes now brought in by globalisation, most participants tend to find it hard or refuse to accept the fact, that Samoan cultural values have been transformed to fit universal expectations. Currently, Samoa has many changes in its social, cultural, political, economic and especially its educational developments. The changes are due to the rapid increase of globalisation in Samoa.

Participants also claimed that global change is an advantage to Samoan people, if there is control and enough understanding about these social, cultural and educational changes. However, some participants have claimed that some Samoans have abused good global changes for their own benefits, or misused western values to cover up for their inappropriate behaviours. Thus, global changes have negative and positive impacts in relation to economic, media and technology, but it may only become a disadvantage when people abuse its usage.

The notion of ambivalence and mimicry were noted by participants as problematic. Since globalisation in Samoa, many people and students have tended to mimic western ways of speaking in their own language and other languages, as well as the utilisation of the new technologies, such as laptops, mobile phones, iPods and so forth. This has created unwanted behaviours that contradict Samoan cultural values.

The upgrading in education expects all teachers to have a diploma or degree, but it has also become a problem, as many old teachers do not have a teaching diploma or degree. This has sparked conflict between the young and old teachers, with claims that young teachers with higher qualifications disrespect old teachers. The participants emphasised that the young should respect the old, in the home and in school. Acquiring western knowledge is important, but the young and old must also utilise educational opportunity more wisely. The problems between the new and

old teachers are signs of poor understanding of Samoan cultural values, where the new teachers disrespect teachers who have been teaching for many years.

The move for quality education is also in jeopardy, due to behavioural problems of students who are in schools and student teachers at the Faculty of Education. Samoan cultural values that most have presumed as Samoan do not seem to help reduce these unwanted behaviours. Therefore, it is important for school teachers, Faculty of Education and society to work together to nurture Samoan cultural values.

The two tables below represent the current values now situated in Samoa as proposed by Samoan academics and cultural leaders, as well as the lecturers and teachers. The values as presented in each table contain meanings and places of origin, defined by participants. The tables also contain three origins: Samoan; religious; and western. The different values in the tables represented one, two or three categories. Interestingly and surprisingly, some of the values, meanings and examples that were provided by participants share similar ideas and meanings with other origins. For instance, the value of respect may share a universal meaning, but the way people perform it is different. Therefore, each value shares the same category based on participants' interpretations.

Table 6.1

Current values and definitions by Samoan cultural and educational experts

Values	Examples	Origins
Respect	Many types of respect such as acknowledgement of roles and relationships	Religious and Samoan
Identity	Testimony, language, parents belief and ideas, treasures, chief titles, lands, place for house (these are things indicated by participants that identify who they are as Samoan, it is also part of their Samoan culture)	Samoan and Western
Love	Hospitality or giving; communal sharing	Samoan and Religious
God	Christianity	Religious
Obedience	Obeying parents and elders	Samoan and Religious
Good	Stay on good terms with one another; look after and helping one another	Samoan and Western
Relationship		
Reciprocity	To do with recognition; it is also to do with	Samoan

	sharing of food whenever some guests arrives, then they immediately starts preparing the food; communal recognition and sharing	
Education	Intelligent children, scholarships, private schools, freedom of speech, human rights, democratic values of freedom speech	Western and Samoan values (post-colonialism)
Hospitality	Hospitality in Samoa originates out of love being hospitable	Samoan and Religious
Consensus and Sharing	Togetherness, communal living and giving money or resources	Samoan and Religious
Good Leadership	Guiding others, or being a leader	Western and Samoan
Good Services	Serving the family, village and church	Samoan
Consultation	Sharing of ideas and contribute to better developments	Samoan, Religious and Western
Money	New resource: individual resource	Western and Samoan

Table 6.1 is an illustration of values and their definitions from Samoan academic and cultural leaders, while table 6.2 presents values by teachers, principals and lecturers. The values in Table 6.1 were a result of participants' opinions based on their responses to the different questions regarding Samoan cultural values. It exhibits a new value system that is compatible with their current way of life. In accordance with Samoan academics and cultural leaders, it has a set of values that favours respect more than the rest of the values indicated from their statements. The value of respect from interviews tends to fall heavily on the respect displayed by individuals in their everyday interaction. For example, an individual's relationship with others is based on respect. Respect as defined by participants represents mainly religious and Samoan ideologies. For instance, the young should respect the old people, and that young people should not speak until the old have spoken.

Other values which follow from respect are identity, love, obedience, good relationships, reciprocity, education, hospitality, consensus and sharing, good leadership, good services, consultation and money. This list of values indicates an extensive change in values, which is an indication of people's globalised interests and needs that emerge after years of learning from colonial rules and methods. All values are a mix and blend of indigenous Samoan and religious values. This is an

outcome derived from participants' explanations regarding their responses to each question. Participants' presentations have exhibited a much greater influence of colonial and post-colonial values and ideas. These are new ideologies now situated in a globalised world where people must assimilate in order to survive. However, colonisation has upgraded education to a new level (formal) instead of religious. In fact, all individuals expect to embrace these values to survive in society.

The values provided by teachers and lecturers in Table 6.2 were also selected based on the same criteria as used in the selection of values for Samoan academics and cultural leaders. It was also placed in order of the most to the least important value for the participants. Respect is also the most important value for teachers and lecturers, and they also share similar meaning with Samoan academics and cultural leaders. However, the placement of other values by teachers and lecturers are in different positions from Samoan academics and cultural leaders. Both tables contain similar and different values. For instance, teachers and lecturers, have respect, collaboration, good leadership, good relationship, identity, obedience, education, harmony, honesty and consensus. The values in here are also based on participants' own interpretation of their everyday social and cultural associations with incoming changes from the outside world. This is also based on the interests and needs of the participants that represented teachers and lecturers in this research study.

Table 6.1
Current values and definitions by Lecturers and Teachers

Values	Examples	Origins
Respect	Speak in a respectful manner; know how to walk, stand and speak in front of people, display of good behaviours at all times.	Samoan and Religious
Collaboration	Communal collaboration; work together with students and parents in the classroom, parents to work with teachers and school.	Samoan and Religious
Good leadership	Teachers as role models. Students should also be responsible for their own behaviours.	Western and Samoan
Good relationship	Understanding one another, sharing of ideas and resources.	Samoan and Religious
Identity	The way people walk; speak and stand, their clothes, and behaviours.	Samoan and Western

Obedience	Obeying parents and teachers.	Samoan, Religious and Western
Education	Good future, helping families and parents	Western and Samoan
God	Civic responsibility. Christianity.	Religious, Samoan and Western
Harmony	Non-violence and peace.	Religious, Samoan and Western
Honesty	Reliability and truth.	Religious, Samoan and Western
Consensus	Believing one another, relying on each other.	Samoan and Religious

The next chapter will discuss an analysis of student teachers' responses to the questionnaire and focus group discussion.

Chapter 7: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF STUDENT TEACHER PARTICIPANTS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter analysed the themes central to the study from the perspective of the academics, Samoan cultural experts, policy makers and teachers. In Chapter Seven the aim is to gain an understanding of student teachers' views regarding Samoan values. Data collected from 19 student teachers is analysed for the themes and sub-themes that emerged from the student teacher questionnaire, interviews and focus group discussions.

The first emerging theme was the importance of Samoan cultural values to student teachers. This follows with a sub-theme on the significance of Samoan cultural values to student teacher participants. The second emerging theme is the significance of Samoan cultural values in education and the lack of Samoan cultural values held by student teachers themselves. The third theme to emerge is the importance of parents and teachers as role models in the lives of students and children in Samoa. The final theme that emerges is the compelling media influences upon Samoan student teacher participants' social interaction and cultural values.

The conclusion summarises student opinions and clarifies student teacher participants' standpoint in relation to Samoan values now entrenched in the post-colonial era. The explanation and examples provided by student participants about the different Samoan values are derived from their own family and school experiences.

7.2 PARTICIPANTS' SOCIAL AND FAMILY BACKGROUND

Table 7.1

Showcases the participants' social and cultural backgrounds.

	Age	Sex	Island	Parents	School	Member	Social Background
1	20	M	Savaii Rural	Unemployed	Vaipouli	Village untitled	Working

					College	young men	class
2	20	F	Upolu Urban	Factory Workers	Unknown	Church youth Church youth	Working class
3	20	M	Savaii Rural	Mum/office clerk, Dad/farmer	Avele College	Village untitled young men	Working class
4	20	M	Savaii Rural	Unemployed	Unknown	Church youth/ choir Village untitled young men	Working class
5	20	M	Savaii Rural	Church Minister	Church College	Church youth Village untitled young men /Church youth/choir	Middle cl class
6	20	F	Savaii Rural	Unemployed	Church College	Church youth	Working class
7	20	F	Upolu Urban	Mum/Dad School Principals	Unknown	Church youth/choir	Middle cl class
8	20	F	Upolu Urban	Unemployed	St Mary's College	Church youth/choir	Working class
9	20	M	Upolu Rural	Mum/office clerk Dad/farmer	Church College	Village untitled young men Church youth/choir	Working class
10	30s	M	Upolu Rural	Unemployed	Polytech	Non	Working class
11	30s	F	Upolu Rural	Dad/teacher Mum/housewife	Community College	Sunday school teacher/ Village women committee	Working class
12	30s	F	Upolu Rural	Mum/Dad – factory workers	Samoa College	Church Choir/youth/women	Working class
13	30s	F	Upolu Urban	Dad/mechanic Mum/housewife	Samoa College	Church Choir	Working class
14	30s	F	Upolu Urban	Mum/teacher Dad/chief	Samoa College	Church/choir/youth	Working class
15	30s	F	Upolu Rural	Mum/teacher Dad/deceased	NZ	Church Choir Village/women	Middle cl class
16	20s	M	Savaii Rural	Unemployed	ECE	Church Choir	Working class
17	20s	M	Savaii Rural	Mum/teacher Dad/farmer	Unknown	Church/choir/youth Village/untitled young men	Working class
18	20s	F	Savaii Rural	Dad/office clerk Mum/housewife	Church College	Church/choir/youth Village/women committee	Working class
19	20s	F	Upolu Urban	Mum/office clerk Dad/driver	St Mary's College	Non	Working class
20	20s	M	Upolu Rural	Mum/teacher Dad/farmer	Avele College	Church/choir Village untitled young men	Working class

Twenty FoE students were randomly selected to answer the questionnaire. The 20 students were also expected to participate in the focus group discussion, however, only 16 attended. The 20 student teachers were divided into two groups. The first group of ten student teachers consisted of mature age students, the second group of ten student teachers consisted of graduates who came straight from high school into the FoE Foundation Program. Both groups were provided the same questions to answer. There were 10 males and 10 females. Nine students were between the age group of 19-21, five between 22-25 and six students from the age group of 26 upwards. Eight of these students came from the larger island of Savaii, and twelve students from the smaller island of Upolu. Six of these students indicated that their parents do not have jobs, while the parents of four other students held clerical office jobs. The parents of six other student teachers were recorded as being teachers themselves. Two student teacher participants indicated that their parents were factory workers, one student teacher participant indicated that his parents are church ministers, and one other student teacher participant revealed that her father owns a mechanical shop. Ten student teachers disclosed their involvement with village *taulealea* (young and untitled men) organisations and *aualuma* (women's) committees. Four student teacher participants disclosed that they were classified as students in their villages, which means that they are precluded from participating in the Village Women's Committee and Young and Untitled Men's Organisation. Six other student teacher participants are living in villages that are near the town area and do not practice village groups like in the rural villages. Seventeen student teacher participants indicated that they are members of different church group organisations and three other students showed no interest in church activities.

The majority of student teachers who participated in this research study, as indicated by table 7.1, were from rural villages in the islands of Upolu and Savaii. These students were presumably brought up in a strong traditional Samoan family, village and church cultural surroundings. They were trained to show respect and obedience to elders. This confirmed that most female and male student teacher participants from Savaii have participated in village and church groups. However, those students from Savaii were excluded from village groups until they completed their university studies.

Twenty student teacher participants participated in the questionnaire, while only 16 student teacher participants attended the focus group discussion. The other four did not attend focus group discussions without providing any further explanation. Table 7.1 has shown the social, cultural and educational background of student teacher participants in their families, villages and church. Three other student teacher participants are classified as middle class due to their parents' status in Samoa. The parents of these student teacher participants consist of a church pastor, school principal, as well as a teacher. The other 13 student teacher participants are all categorised as working class, due to their family and educational backgrounds. Most of these student teacher participants come from families where the parents' education was very limited. Their main means of income was cultivating the land. Unlike the other student teacher participants, their parents are unemployed or in low paid jobs, such as taxi drivers, while some hold teaching jobs, they still consider themselves as working class due to their family economic and social situations.

In the following sections, the themes outlined above have been closely inspected and evaluated through the theoretical lens of post-colonialism, globalisation and standpoint theory. This is in accord with post-colonial concepts of hybridity and heterogeneity. This study validates the notion of the third space and a heterogeneous system, which replaces the homogeneous system in Samoa.

7.2 SAMOAN CULTURAL VALUES

For student teacher participants, the issue of Samoan cultural values is contradicted by the many different values now situated in Samoa. The mixing and blending of Samoan, religious and western cultural values create a heterogeneous system which people must adapt to and follow in order to survive academically, socially, economically, culturally and politically. Most of these Samoan cultural values as discussed in this chapter by student teacher participants have a strong religious influence.

Student teacher participants' understandings of Samoan cultural values, as stated in this study, are relevant to their own teacher training. Samoan cultural values

are similar to the values of developed and developing nations (Mok, 2006). World agencies have referred to Samoan cultural values as universal values. The changes to education value systems around the world derive from neo-liberal ideas. These ideas have been spread through the technological and economic changes that have been brought by globalisation (Hursh, 2009). It has led to the creation of neo-liberal, economic and education policies based on new values of developed nations and world agencies which are successful economically and in terms of education development (Cooper, 2008). These same values in Samoa impacted on education curriculum policies and are treated as Samoan's own cultural values (MESC, 2006). Throughout the student teacher participants' data analysis, it is apparent that all these students have very strong convictions and beliefs that the values they discussed are traditional Samoan values.

Samoan student teacher participants' standpoint in this research study sees them as narrators of their own post-colonial experiences, through the midst of globalisation. This approach is similar to stories told by feminists with their own social, cultural, education and workplaces in their own society (hooks, 1990; Harding, 1991). Student teacher participants' narrative illustrated blending and mixing of traditional Samoan cultural, Christian and universal values. The mixture of values is now categorised in post-colonialism as hybrid, derived from heterogeneous society. Student teacher participants' knowledge and thoughts about Samoan cultural values indicate that these values protect and uphold their social, cultural and educational activities.

During student teachers' *talanoa* and *nofo* sessions interesting findings towards their own description of the relevance of Samoan cultural values in their schooling lives emerged. Weaving their stories together unveiled their own perceptions on how Samoan cultural values were treated in education, family, village and church. For these student teacher participants, Samoan cultural values are relevant in teaching and learning. The main expectation in a Samoan society is for a Samoan teacher to behave in a certain way, such as to follow the Samoan values, beliefs and ideas of a traditional Samoan society. Similarly, Faaulufalega (2008) argues that, "teachers and educational leaders are the mountains who are engaged with different cultures which they share with the students" (p. 6). It is an old belief in the Samoan cultural context

that teachers and elders are responsible to guide and set appropriate cultural examples for young and old to follow. The expectation is for a Samoan student teacher to graduate with a rich comprehension of Samoan values of respect, obedience, love, sharing and kindness.

Samoan cultural values such as respect, obedience, love, sharing and kindness expect teachers to guide student teachers with the ability to generate knowledge, skills and ideas in different educational areas to assist young Samoan future generations. These are the same Samoan cultural values that the MESC failed to justify whether they are Samoan or universal values in the education policies. These Samoan cultural values are the focus of discussion throughout this chapter. Therefore, student teacher participants define Samoan cultural values in relation to respectful behaviours in children's upbringing:

Respect is one of the most important value, it shows your personal identity, love and peace. (Student 1)

Respect, love, obedience, va-tapuia (sacred relationship) etc, these values signifies our identity as Samoan. (Student 4)

Samoan values are things that our parents introduce to us from a very young age in our families. That is to respect older people, respect one another and our parents. (Student 6)

Samoan values are, love and respect for families and elders. As well as sharing and cooperation, hospitality, caring and giving. Those Samoan values are significant to Samoans. They are all part of the culture, and from these values, people can be able to identify who we are. (Student 10)

Participants' views regarding Samoan cultural values are generally grounded in their own perceptions and indicate a variety of cultural ideas. These represent how they perceive Samoan cultural values in relation to their social, cultural, and educational situations. These are student teacher participants' perceptions of what Samoan cultural values are for them. They define their Samoan cultural values grounded in their Samoan family social and cultural experiences. In a similar vein, Faaulufalega (2008) has stated that, "my parents were the first teachers and leaders who taught me how to respect, care, and lead my life in good ways with respect for my Samoan culture and church" (p. 9). This is very similar to student teacher

participants' experiences with their own Samoan social and cultural life. Tuia (1999) also indicated that Samoan cultural values assist children to behave appropriately in certain places while interacting with people of different status.

Other participants have provided examples of Samoan cultural values based on student teacher participants' own social, cultural, religious, and educational experiences in Samoa:

A child is taught to acquire an understanding of how to move when eating and drinking where they have to sit down rather than standing, and they should also know how to bow low while walking in front of other people. (Student 12)

Children should know how to walk in front of people in the Samoan way. The family should teach respect and other Samoan ways such as talking, walking and knowing how to sit in front of people. (Student 9)

These responses from Participants 12 and 9 derive from their experiences with Samoan family life after observing elders and parents going about their daily activities. As noted by participants 12 and 9, a child who is well trained in the home is usually the one that understands how to carry themselves when interacting with people of all ages. For instance, a Samoan child who has been taught by their parents about Samoan cultural values is someone who knows how to walk in front of people and speak with respect. This illustrated participants own kinds of home environments, in relation to their own upbringing that they are familiar with in their Samoan families.

The kinds of behaviours that student teacher participants are familiar with in their family, village social and cultural activities were reflected through their expressions about the significance of Samoan cultural values to Samoan people. Maiai (1957) and Gardner (1965) both describe Samoan cultural values as very important to children and adults in the home and village. They further described this cultural interaction between children and adults as very respectful, especially when children are instructed by adults of their family or village. In addition, cultural interaction between adults and the significance of Samoan cultural values to Samoan people, and how they value their culture.

7.2.1 Significance of Samoan cultural values

For student teacher participants, Samoan cultural values define who they are as Samoan; it is their identity:

Values to Samoan people reflects who we are, our heritage, our identity and it's really part of our culture. (Student 13)

Because wherever you go people will be able to identify who you are, because of the values that you have, and that is the way you speak in a respectful way. (Student 6)

Samoan values are cultural principles that guide Samoan people in whatever they do and wherever they go. Through their appearance, behaviour, beliefs, as well as their interactions with people from diverse cultural backgrounds. (Student 10)

Samoan values are so useful and so important because it guides our people and also it is our identity. (Student 1)

The significance of Samoan cultural values to student teacher participants are more than just identity and respecting one another, but also guide them in their society. For participants 13 and 6, as also for participants 1, 5 and 10, Samoan cultural values define the way Samoan people behave in certain social and cultural activities, and that differs from other ethnic cultures. Participants' views reveal their understanding of how Samoans should live and honour their Samoan cultural values in society. This is also an indication that student teacher participants have practical experiences with Samoan cultural values in the home and village.

These findings are parallel to the study by Auvaa (2003), where he indicated that “elders, chiefs and parents taught traditional cultural values to their children” (p. 11). It is a usual cultural practice in the Samoan culture for elders and parents to teach their children Samoan cultural values. For Gardner (1965), children were to remain in the house of the high chiefs, whereas the wife instructed the children to acquire certain cultural behaviours, while interacting with people of different status in the village and their families. The next section considers the significance of Samoan cultural values in formal education.

7.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF SAMOAN CULTURAL VALUES IN EDUCATION

The teaching of Samoan cultural values in the home and village, as most participants indicated, is important to Samoan people, and the good examples set up by the home and village teaching are expected to carry forward into foreign places and educational institutions. As mentioned in earlier chapters, education in Samoa is a western import that missionaries and colonial regimes developed (Davidson, 1967; Masterman, 1958; Meleisea, 1987). Thus education in Samoa began with the implementation of western aims, purposes and values. In so doing, educational practices and western educational ideas, skills and knowledge were fast tracked in order to assist Samoans to acquire and comprehend the values, beliefs and ideas of missionaries and colonialists (Maiai, 1967; & Meleisea, 1987). However, such educational ideas during colonisation tended to ignore the importance of Samoan cultural values in the making of western formal education in Samoa.

As echoed by Chowdhury (2008), “education was exported by colonial centres to their colonies and was normatively seen as an investment to consolidate colonial power” (p. 15). It indicates that colonial influence continues to play a part in the organisation, planning and operation of the Samoan education system. This colonial influence now continues to affects most Samoans, as well as student teachers. Samoan student teachers’ thoughts and minds have been influenced by western ideas, and that there is no escape but to assimilate in this new modern lifestyle. Although many social and cultural global changes have impacted the Samoan lifestyles of the student teacher participants, Samoan traditional ways of living continue to play a big role in the lives of student teacher participants. As stated by student teacher participants, they are inspired by the teaching of their home and village, and they strongly concur that Samoan cultural values continue to influence the way they behave while studying in school. The following responses from student teachers indicated how they view Samoan cultural values in the FoE. This is in relation to the way a student teacher should behave while in the presence of a lecturer or elder in school.

Samoan values help me to understand how to behave in respectful manners while I am interacting with teachers and elders in class. (Student 6)

Samoan values are important because I get to respect my lecturers and tutors as well as my colleagues. (Student 14)

Respect guides students' behaviour, whereas love and peace help teachers to teach their class well. (Student 1)

Samoan values help the students to behave politely, just like in the Samoan culture. (Student 3)

Samoan values is important, it guides and motivates me to work hard in school. (Student 5)

Samoan values are very important in education, which teaches boys and girls how to behave. (Student 16)

Samoan values must practice in school, it identify a student, and maintain peace within education. (Student 12)

Participants have claimed love, respect and peace as Samoan cultural values. The implication of these values to student teacher participants are valuable in dealing with all people in schools, as it is a call to respect one another as well as maintain good behaviour in class.

However, these same values, as described by student teacher participants, were described by Meleisea (2004) as Christian values, where peace and love was restored by missionaries after arriving in 1830 to resolve conflict due to political differences between districts and their kings. In particular, these values of peace and love are now viewed by these student teacher participants as crucial in teaching and learning. Samoan teachers appear to follow what has been established by missionaries, since the missionaries triumphantly convinced Samoans to adopt their values and ethics to guide their everyday living. The missionary influence thus hybridised Samoan cultural values that has resulted in the participants assuming the values to be traditional Samoan values. The expectation is that teachers ought to show some love and care, as well as to maintain a peaceful relationship with students.

Other participants have proposed the importance of Samoan cultural values, but provide different descriptions of how they perceived these values. For instance, Participant 15 indicated that Samoan cultural values are highly important to her, and these values have taught her how to love and respect others.

Highly important, without these values I am incomplete. I was taught to love, respect etc. These values are what makes me special and I am proud of them. (Student 15)

In addition, Participant 15 refers to Samoan cultural values as special, stating that these values make her proud. Participant 8 elaborates that Samoan cultural values have guided her to where she is and are protecting her Samoan identity, as well as helping her to achieve her goals.

In Samoa, it is assumed that people's sense of identity can change over time. Hall (2005) indicates that "people's sense of identity can also change over time or through changing circumstances and experiences" (p. 58). Here, the Samoan cultural values that student teacher participants have referred to as identity actually changed in relation to newly introduced global values. Others perceive these values as universal values, which are mostly utilised by world agencies, such as the World Bank and developed nations (Avalos, 2002; Mok, 2006). These global values or universal values such as the right to education, individual progress and gain have been dispersed all around the world and are now becoming leading values in former colonised nations' education development. These universal values are now ingrained in Samoa's current education system, making it a heterogeneous system.

Without my values, I would not have made it to where I am right now and Samoan values reminds me of my identity and goals to achieved. (Student 8)

Participant 10, who argues that Samoan values are significant in education, signifies Samoan cultural values as a way to lessen the negative impact of modernisation on Samoan people.

Samoan values are important in modern education. People nowadays never realise the bad influences of modernisation in the Samoan cultural way of life, so maintaining our Samoan values can lessen bad influences of modernisation on Samoan people. (Student 10)

Samoan cultural values to all student teacher participants emerged as very meaningful to their social, cultural and educational lives. Although all participants provided different perceptions of Samoan cultural values, these were just examples of Samoan cultural values, with their general overview of what participants think Samoan cultural values represent. Participant 10 strongly believes that maintaining

Samoan cultural values will protect Samoans from outside influences. Participant 10 described modernisation in Samoa as a bad influence on the Samoan culture. Participants 3, 1 and 4 have suggested that Samoan cultural values should be taught in school. The concern from these participants is that student teachers and school students will then be reminded of their Samoan cultural values and its importance to their schooling lives.

It is very important to teach Samoan values in schools and teachers college, especially between students and teachers. Students and teachers must know the value of respect. Respect inside the classroom, usually display in things such as speaking and performance. (Student 3)

We should teach Samoan values in schools and teachers college, because many student teachers comes into classes with inappropriate clothes and walking around with dark sunglasses during the class, and sitting on the desk, while other students are sitting on their chairs. (Student 1)

The responses from participants 3 and 1 suggest that teaching of Samoan cultural values in school may prevent the occurrence of disrespectful behaviours displayed by student teachers in and out of the classroom. More importantly, for these student teacher participants, the teaching of Samoan cultural values in schools, as advocated by participants 3 and 1, might lessen behavioural problems of student teachers and promote the importance of cultural values in student teachers' social, cultural and educational living situations. The next sub-theme considers the lack of Samoan cultural values in the lives of student teachers. The concern raised by these participants about Samoan cultural values portrayed Samoan students as disrespecting their own people, such as student teachers, lecturers, elders and parents.

7.3.1 Lack of Samoan cultural values in student teachers

The behaviours displayed by student teachers in the Faculty of Education are described by participants themselves as inappropriate in the Samoan culture. Participants refer to behaviours, such as back chatting, missing classes, disobeying classroom rules and causing classroom disruption as inappropriate. All these

inappropriate behaviours have been interpreted by participants and described as contradicting with Samoan cultural values.

The class that I am now taking is teaching maths and science, it is here that you should show your respectful behaviours. I know when we go out as teachers we also expect students to treat us like real teachers. But the way students behave inside the classroom makes me feel sorry for the poor old lady lecturer who is taking the class, because students' behaviours are so disrespectful. These are not young students, the age group like us, and they are so rude – while the poor old lady is teaching, and some students are still eating and talking inside the classroom. (Student 15)

Participant 15 refers to student teachers' behaviours in her class as an example of inappropriate behaviours that are being displayed by student teachers while in the presence of lecturers and students. She further explains that this kind of inappropriate behaviour is a sign of disrespecting lecturers and other students. In general, these inappropriate behaviours could also be interpreted by Participant 15 as the lack of Samoan cultural values in the lives of Samoan students. In a similar vein, Participant 5 argued that Samoan students and children no longer display Samoan values in their actions, such as walking, sitting and eating.

Children don't display their Samoan values in their actions. For example, standing, walking, sitting and eating. If we think about these days, the culture seems to be changing due to the behaviours from overseas. (Student 5)

It is indicated by Participant 5 that the lack of Samoan cultural values enacted by student teachers is a symbol of change in the Samoan culture. This participant blamed western ways of living in terms of people's behaviours as the cause of change in Samoan people's behaviours. These changes have been interpreted by Appadurai (1996) and Luke (2006) as part of globalisation, where people tend to imitate and adopt new ways of living to suit modernisation. Participant 7 argue that the behaviours displayed by students are inconsistent with the Samoan way of life.

Behaviours that we see in our students are not compatible with Samoan ways of living. Students' poor behaviour are destroying the many young lives. Currently, many students with poor behaviour are the result of not using human values appropriately. This is because of modern changes, or behaviours from overseas, that tries to break down the Samoan culture. (Student 7)

Participant 7 explained that students' poor behaviours are the result of poor usage of human values. This participant felt that the ever-growing western cultural influence continues to change the Samoan culture, which changes the behaviour of Samoan people. However, Participant 12 argued differently and maintained that Samoan cultural values are very difficult to practice in the FoE.

It is very hard to practice Samoan values in teachers college, this is because of students with different cultural and social backgrounds from other countries now schooling in the National University of Samoa. Teachers college, it is mixed, there are students from different social and cultural backgrounds. For instance, half-caste children which they have different ways of living and that they are more into western living styles. Most Samoans don't mind halfcaste children when drinking and standing. If a halfcaste or palagi child eats their lunch, they don't ask me to come and share with them, and when a Samoan child eats their lunch, they will share with others and that is the Samoan way of living. (Student 12)

Participant 12 stated that the behaviour displayed by students in the NUS is also the kind of behaviour found in western societies. The NUS is seen by Participant 12 as a place where each individual is free to exercise their rights in how they communicate and behave. The experiences gained by Samoan student teachers in the NUS, are conflicting with their home life.

The views of these participants indicate that Samoan cultural values are becoming insignificant or are slowly being choked by the emerging influences of western social and cultural values, beliefs and ideals that formulate cultural hybridity. However, interpreted in terms of hybridity, which captures the spirit of "cultural differences and fusion" (Kraidy, 2005, p. 1), Samoan values can be perceived to be heterogeneous, a perception that the participants were unable to decipher.

7.4 ROLE MODELS: PARENTS AND TEACHERS

The role of parents and teachers in the lives of students is very important in the development of education in Samoa. An old belief in Samoa is that the best place for children to acquire good teaching is in the home (Maiai, 1957; Gardner, 1965;

Faaulufalega, 2008). Parents' responsibilities are to practice Samoan cultural values in order for children to understand the utilisation of these values in certain activities and places. In addition, teachers also contribute to enforce these Samoan cultural values in their teaching. For instance, Meleisea (2004) has stated that these cultural values are taught in school only in the Samoan curriculum subject. She suggests that, "The core Samoan cultural values are reflected to some extent in the Samoan language curriculum, but are not emphasised as such" (p. 10). This indicates that the greater emphasis of these Samoan cultural values is mainly showcased in the Samoan subject, but not in other school curriculum subjects, such as English.

In particular, participants argue the point that parents and teachers are to be responsible for teaching Samoan cultural values. For instance, participants 14 and 2 have suggested that parents should spend more time with their children, by teaching them the importance and utilisation of Samoan cultural values in their behaviours.

Parents must fully prepare their children..... and their home learning should reflect in school. If children repeat their good learning from home, they will also become very good people in the future. (Student 14)

Very important for parents to teach their children with all good ways, because their children are the future of their family. Children that have good home teaching are the ones that usually turns out to be the best and know how to live their life in other places. (Student 2)

Participant 14 indicated that parents should prepare children and this should be reflected in children's behaviour in school. Student teacher participant 14 further explains that those children who received good learning from home become good people in the future. In a similar vein, Participant 2 argued that children with good home learning will also make use of their home learning while living away from their families. For instance, the parents' role is to teach their children the best Samoan cultural ways that they expect them to acquire. Similarly, participants 1, 3, 5 and 7 have indicated that their parents have inspired them by providing encouragement and words of advice in becoming better people in the future

My parents encourage me to keep trying and also they help me in my studies and lastly they are handling all the fees for my schooling. (Student 1)

My parents inspired me to become who I am and to become a better teacher in the future. Their advice and never ending support is greatly appreciated. (Student 3)

My parents usually advise and give me comments about things that I should follow and take it as my first priority. (Student 5)

My parents both encourage and inspire me in any educational way so that I can have a brighter future. (Student 7)

Participants' parents, as stated in their responses, tend to be very supportive of their education and it has provided these students with the courage to work hard in school. However, Participant 11 argued differently, and refers to a child's learning as the responsibility of parents, teachers and the whole village.

Takes the whole village to teach a child. I believe that it shouldn't be just parents, but it should be the whole village. This also goes to the whole country, that if we want to cement Samoan values in our hearts and souls. Children will have a bright future if parents teach them well. A village will be well known if their children do well in school, and the village pastor and the whole village will be very proud and happy. (Student 11)

Participant 11's view of the centrality of Samoan village in inculcating Samoan values is similar to Gardner's (1965) early findings on Samoan cultural values, where the high chiefs' wives were responsible for teaching Samoan cultural values to children. While Participant 11 strongly argued that it should be a collective responsibility to assist a child to learn how to behave, other student teacher participants directed their focus and opinions towards the role and responsibilities of the teachers:

You are the teacher that equipped with the Samoan culture, you should assist with the child while he/she is young. Parents believe that their children's lives are in the hands of teachers. Teachers develop the child into a good person, and the teachers must value Samoan cultural values. (Student 9)

The teacher must respect the student and student to teacher. The child's life are in the hands of the teacher. A child is a bad one, if the teacher is also bad, and the child will never become a good person in the future. (Student 7)

A teacher's role is to teach the child to acquire Samoan cultural values. More importantly for Participant 9, a teacher who practices Samoan cultural values in the classroom will produce a good student. Participant 7 shares a similar viewpoint and refers to the teachers' role as crucial in the lives of children, and that is for both the

teacher and student to respect one another. However, Participant 7 further argues that a child will remain disobedient, if the students receive limited support from the teacher.

In Samoa, teachers were trained to acquire both Western and Samoan knowledge of global social, cultural, education, political and economic ideals. Teachers' knowledge of Samoan culture should contain an understanding of values, beliefs and ideals about family, village, and church life. Therefore, the expectation in Samoan schools is for teachers to teach children to acquire global and Samoan knowledge in different social, cultural, education, and political activities. Participant 2 raises the idea of instructing students on Samoan society's social, cultural and educational expectations, as well as the importance of Samoan cultural values in their educational lives:

The emphasis on Samoan cultural values in school and teachers college is so important. For example, tell the children to be on time, and teach them to respect and obey teachers, and the teacher must also respect the students.
(Student 2)

Participant 2 suggested that a child must understand school rules as well as the importance of respecting the teacher and other students. That is, Samoan cultural values should be taught within the teachers college and school framework, for students to follow and practice in their everyday activities. The next theme looks at student teacher participants' views on outside media influences and how it affects Samoan cultural values, and the lives of students and student teachers in Samoa.

7.5 MEDIA INFLUENCES ON SAMOAN STUDENT TEACHERS SOCIAL AND CULTURAL VALUES

Participants are concerned with the behaviour displayed by student teachers in and outside of the classroom in the FoE. Some of these behaviours raise some questions of their whereabouts and how it affects Samoan cultural values and the lives of Samoan student teachers. In some instances, we now read in the local newspaper the inappropriate use of ruthless language between young insignificant Samoans and some prominent high status village chiefs. The respect and humility we were accustomed to in the past between the young and old, or untitled and chief, or a low status chief and high status chief that was very sacred in the past, has long gone.

Clearly even people with higher status in Samoan society are faced with changing Samoan cultural values. The respect between Samoans, which was held in high regard, has now been replaced with new behaviours, where people now exercise their freedom of speech to voice their opinion without fear of retribution. This kind of attitude and behaviour is now a regular occurrence in school where students tend to display behaviours that student teacher participants have discovered as contradicting with Samoan cultural values:

There is a big change. For example, many children, don't know how to respect, for instance, brother to sister, or sister to brother. In teachers college, there are many changes, in the way we speak, and students also disrespect their relationship with teachers. (Student 5)

A lot of changes with the Samoan culture, such as children's discipline inside schools. As well as listening to other students, swearing aloud while I am listening. Our culture should be important to us at any time, especially when we practice it in and out of the home and classroom. However, I don't think we are practicing our culture properly in school. (Student 6)

For Participant 5, there is change in the Samoan culture in that the respect between the brother and the sister no longer exist. The respect between sisters and brothers in the Samoan culture is highly important, where a brother is the protector of his sister. The brother and sister relationship is known in Samoa as the *feagaiga* (covenant). That is, “the brother protects the sister, lays down his life for her” (Tanielu, 2004). In fact, this is the kind of Samoan cultural life that Participant 5 was referring to should be a practice in the FoE. Participant 5 further argued that the behaviour in teachers college is contrary to Samoan cultural ways, for instance, students disrespecting their lecturers, or displaying limited respect while speaking with lecturers and other student teachers. This is similar to Participant 6, who suggested that children's discipline in schools has changed. Student teachers have no respect towards others and use foul language while others are listening. As indicated by student teacher Participant 6, Samoan culture should be crucial in and out of the home and classroom.

Other participants refer to these new social and cultural changes as contradicting Samoan culture. These problems, as indicated by participants 2 and 8, have become endemic within the FoE:

There are now contentious changes based on the Samoan culture today. If we look at the teachers college, most female teacher trainees now wear miniskirts and spaghetti tops, while their male counterparts wear pants and long hair. Samoan culture is deeply ingrained with respect and that is between you and the other person, however, most student teachers display disrespectful behaviours. (Student 2)

There are changes where students begin to behave uncontrollable in and out of school. Their life styles in school are also a problem, where some students disrespect others, that they bullied other students and ignore the values of sharing and kindness to other students. (Student 8)

Participant 2 has indicated that there are new changes to Samoan culture; females come into school with inappropriate attire and males attend with long hair. This participant further explains that these behaviours are signs of disrespecting the Samoan culture. Participant 8 believes that student teachers' behaviour is uncontrollable. There are observed and reported cases of student teachers bullying other students and displaying acts of unkindness towards other student teachers and lecturers.

Participants have indicated that most of these cultural changes are being derived and influenced from western societies, and the influence of Samoans returning from overseas. This idea of outside influence, as echoed by participants, is of major concern within the FoE. The student teacher participants agree in principle that the blame for these changes can be attributed to the Samoans returning from overseas and the media for inventing new behaviours based on western values, beliefs and ideas that are incompatible with the Samoan culture.

The participants are caught up in between the changing social and cultural ways and their perceptions of traditional Samoan values. With globalisation, new media technologies have aimed at homogeneity of values and as Carrington and Luke (2004) indicated that "what seems certain is that many of the patterns and practices of everyday life are shifting and oscillating, albeit unevenly and at different rates, in relation to powerful economic and technological forces" (p. 54).

Hence, Participant 13 suggested that students and people from abroad are introducing behaviours that are contradicting Samoan ways of living, while Participant 6 blamed the parents for not training their children properly to prepare them for these global changes:

Children are behaving badly, because of the influence from other students and other people. Some children from overseas have come back with western behaviours, that are imitated by other children and student teachers. (Student 13)

We first learn about the new lifestyles that are now in Samoa from our families. Our parents teach us about behaviours, like what they do, but if we were taught properly by our parents from the time that we came out into this world, I don't think we will be badly affected by these changes. There are some good and bad changes, so we allowed changes into our environment, whatever incoming changes, but if the foundation of our life was well structured and informed by our parents, then the changes may not be a major problem. (Student 6)

Participant 6 refers to changes in our society as the cause of some inappropriate behaviours being displayed by student teachers in the classroom. Participant 6 also suggested that these changes may not be a problem if parents provide proper teaching and guidance for their children to follow, while living away from home. Participants argued that the media contributes to the change in the behaviour of Samoan children in school and their families. These student teachers have indicated that television programs and big screen movies from western societies portray scenes and pictures that are incompatible with the current Samoan cultural ways of living. As Stromquist (2002) observes, several critics fear that “globalization has been successful in introducing uniformity of thought inclined toward consumerism and individualism, a process greatly assisted by the use of global media” (p. 81).

Media in terms of TV and movies portrayed a lot of different bad behaviour from the outside world in which our people get to imitate those things which lead to new changes in our culture. (Student 3)

Children imitate and catch onto things very quickly from viewing television like bad language and scenes which enable them to change their Samoan way of life. (Student 5)

They will act what they see and they will spend most of their time watching TV instead of doing homework. (Student 6)

This is due to the fact that television programmes have driven negative impacts which Samoan children never experienced before and this captures their attention to take into account those bad influences. (Student 7)

Through television most students/or children are introduced to European cultures, it is a bad influence for our own children. (Student 12)

There's a lot going on in television. Eg – the language that actors/actress exploit on TV, really influence our language, even to what we wear, we tend to copy every style that we see on television. (Student 13)

Participants indicated that the media has a negative influence on the lives of Samoan students and children. As indicated by Participant 3, the media continues to provide a variety of western ideas and ways that change Samoan people's cultural protocols. Samoan people imitate the behaviours that they observe from the film and television media. This is further clarified by Participant 5, who stated that television has shown movies that contain foul language and adult rated scenes, which magnifies the challenges of Samoan cultural values. The behaviours and languages people learned from watching Western movies, imitating tourists and Samoans returning from overseas begins to shape and influence how Samoans behave in their social and cultural activities. In a similar vein, participants 6 and 7 argued that the negative impact of television in the lives of Samoan children have had detrimental effect on their schooling as well as their relationship with their Samoan culture. Student teacher participant 12 is concerned with television and its portrayal of European culture, which now captivates most Samoan children. This is further explained by Participant 13, as happening through the language that they speak, such as using swear words and unusual Samoan slang that is difficult to comprehend.

The global changes in social life, culture, education and economics have merged diverse communities in such a way that Samoans today are faced with. This creates heterogeneous living styles in Samoa, which Robertson (1995) defines as 'glocalisation'; or interwoven local and global ways of living. In so doing, student teacher participants are also adopting global thinking, skills and practices that enable them to capture the diverse global knowledge, theories and methodologies which are now merged with Samoans own cultural and social knowledge and ideas.

Student teachers are at the centre of such glocal conditions as their global knowledge, skills and practices are now being questioned by the Samoan society. These student teachers have encountered cultural complexities and diversity, which contradicts their own Samoan cultural values. Samoan student teachers often find it difficult to comprehend cultural spaces and spaces in-between (Bhabha, 1994). That is to understand the meaning of Samoan cultural values in a globalised world and the differences between Samoan cultural values, Christian values, western values and media-mediated values. Samoan student teachers' exposure to global popular culture has impacted on their behaviours', which are unpopular within Samoan society. This is what other student teachers and Samoans have interpreted as new change or new ways of living, which are mainly associated with behaviours that participants regard as different from usual Samoan cultural behaviours in relation to Samoan cultural values.

The cultural complexities and diversity brought by globalisation in Samoa undermines the fluidity and complexity of Samoan cultural values among its own people, and forces student teachers to change their social and cultural ways of living to align with new ideas of living now displayed by some student teachers. This flow of ideas (Appudurai, 1996) could also correlate with weakening the true meanings of Samoan cultural practices that identify who they are nationally and abroad.

In post-colonial, globalised Samoa, people must expect new changes. These new changes in cultural and social complexity and diversity are best captured by Samoa's current education system. These global social and cultural flows of new ideas have been incorporated into the current Samoan education system to provide student teachers with a range of new ideas and skills. These social, cultural and educational changes originated from developed nations and world agencies, where neoliberal economic and education policies have dominated how people and nations live in their respective countries. The current education reform in Samoa, aims to incorporate the many new global changes that need to be clarified for people to understand.

The changes in the Samoan education system clearly outline the expectation that student teachers must also change from being homogenised to acquiring a broader heterogeneous approach that incorporates glocal thinking, skills, knowledge and practices. Furthermore, the global changes that replace some of Samoans' social and cultural aspects have problematised some student teachers' thinking, practices and Samoan cultural values. The global changes in relation to Samoan cultural values, as indicated by these students, are depicted in things that they have become accustomed to in their daily lives, such as the clothes they wear, disrespect amongst students, verbal abuse, bullying and violence.

The most popular agents of globalisation that influence Samoan culture are tourists, media, movies and newspapers. These elements have aided the transferring of global economic, social and cultural values, beliefs and ideas from one society to another (Appadurai 1996). The constant flow of these new global changes in different aspects of life from one society to another is also another way of exposing people to different cultural backgrounds (Appadurai, 1996). Some may interpret this kind of global connection as a virus that damages the social and cultural living of Samoa and other underdeveloped nations.

The local and global values, beliefs and ideas have all integrated into a hybrid system, and Samoan society expects student teachers to follow. To reinforce and thoroughly comprehend the complexity and diversity of global and local cultures an effective, productive and stable Samoan education system is needed. The education system must ensure clarity is provided on the differences between the past and present. This will provide the locals with the awareness of global changes and prepare student teachers to understand the hybrid culture that now exists.

7.6 CONCLUSION

Table 7.2

Current values from Samoan student participants

Values	Examples	Origins
Respect	Must obey and love your elders, parents and teachers	Samoan
Western	Good teaching from teachers and parents is	Religious and Western
		Western

Education	important, higher education, such as university, is needed to obtain better learning to get a better job in the future	
Identity	People who wears the same clothes, speak same language, and behave accordingly to their cultural values	Samoa
Collaboration	Parents working closely with their children and their teachers	Samoa, Religious and Western
Obedience	Children must obey their teachers and parents	Samoa, Religious and Western
Love God	Bible says love thy neighbour, love each other A God is someone that all Christian churches tend to believe in and cherish.	Samoa and Religious Religious
Good Relationship	Children and teachers must maintain good relationship in the classroom. Children must maintain good relationships with their parents	Religious, Samoa and Western
Law	These are to do with legal rules and orders that people must follow to maintain solidarity in society and families.	Western
Good Services	Serving the family, village and church, school and parents	Samoa and Religious

Table 7.2 presents the different values that were found, learnt and discussed by student teachers in relation to their understanding of Samoan cultural values. In fact, some Samoan values provided by student teachers were also in parallel with missionary and colonial values. The value system created by student teachers derives directly from their own understanding of Samoan life. For instance, student teacher participants' definition of respect is about a person that loves and obeys their parents, elders and teachers. Therefore, this definition represents western, Samoan and Christian cultural lifestyles. In fact, the value of western education is all about good teaching and higher education. Indeed, it is a western value because formal education originated from western countries. The value of identity and its prescriptions from the participants (clothes, speaking, talking etc) represent only Samoa. The value of collaboration represent western ideas, Christianity, and Samoan values all working together. Obedience requires children to obey their parents and teachers, and this is essential in any country including Samoa.

The value of love was defined by student teachers as a Samoan and Christian value. In addition, the value of good relationships is perceived by participants to fit all the three categories (Western, Christian and Samoan). Each category values a good relationship between children and their parents, as well as teachers and students. In addition, the value of law suggested by post-colonial theorists as crucial to the living situations of nations and individuals was enacted by UN for individuals, families, and nations to adopt.

The value of good service, as explained by the participants, is being about a child that helps their father and mother. In Christian terms, good services are about a person who goes to church services and follows the commandments. All values provided by student teachers were presumed to represent Samoan values. However, after analysing the histories of missionaries, colonisation, neo-colonialism and post-colonialism, it becomes clear that almost all values proposed by participants, derive from missionary times, European times, traditional Samoa, or a combination of all. The idea behind this categorisation was to establish and confirm how much Samoan cultural values have changed. The student views show that Samoan cultural value systems, in a post-colonial era are currently a hybrid value system.

The voices presented throughout *talanoa* and *nofo* in this chapter belong to Samoan student teachers, where I tried to weave their perspectives on Samoan cultural values in correlation with life in a globalised society. The suggestions, opinions and assumptions provided by participants, represent their family and school experiences. Students' voices also originate from their Samoan background within a hybrid cultural system in Samoa. Yet, Samoan student teachers' social and cultural values seem to be in turmoil. The student teacher participants are unsure of their own Samoan cultural values. Student teacher participants' voices still echo traditional ways of life that have been part of Samoan life situations before global social, cultural and economic changes.

The study realised that there is confusion and contradictions students are experiencing with the differences between global values and Samoan cultural values. In fact, the aim of post-colonial discourses is to clarify the position of Samoan cultural values in a Samoa education system that captures cultural complexity and diversity. Post-colonial discourses also enable finding indigenous ways and voices In

terms of this study, participants' position in the current hybrid education system is not important, but their participation is accounted for. The current hybrid education system expects student teachers to be active and effective learners, and only this education system can determine student teachers' future prospects.

The changes brought by globalisation tend to become part of the social and cultural living situations of Samoan people. In fact, these global social and cultural situations bring challenges to student teachers and the nation. Many of the views presented by student teachers in this study may have been derived from stories from their parents and grandparents, from text books written by historians or missionaries in the beginning of Samoan civilisation and colonisation. While the participants' standpoint can be regarded as a segment of Samoan culture, much of their standpoint was reflective of the influence of globalisation, which shows the hybrid, heterogeneous culture which they inhabit.

Samoan society is now regarded as a former colonised society with new world knowledge, skills, talents and behaviours. Global changes have affected most Samoan families and education; contradicting and confusing Samoan cultural values. The place of Samoan cultural values in the current hybrid education system is indistinct. The meaning of these values for Samoan student teachers is not known. Similarly, their significance to the current Samoan hybrid education system itself is also not known. Some of the global changes are interpreted by some Samoans as insignificant to the upbringing of Samoan children. However, changes must be incorporated into the current hybrid education system so that student teachers and all students in Samoa will be well informed and prepared to accept, counter, respond and react to the challenges in the future. Drawing on the themes of the data analysis in this chapter, and in chapters Five and Six, the next chapter summarises and provides recommendations from this study.

Chapter 8: **SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

8.1 INTRODUCTION

My standpoint as an indigenous researcher and insider of Samoan education informed this research. This research topic has been my educational focus for a decade as I have worked as both a teacher and teacher educator in Samoa. The focus of my research study has been to investigate the relevance of Samoan cultural values in teacher education practices. Findings came from two sources: the policy analysis of Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (MESC) education policies in Chapter 5; and the data gathered from questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussions from the FoE student teachers, in-service teachers and Samoan cultural and academic experts from around Samoa in Chapters 6 and 7.

This thesis utilised theories of standpoint, globalisation and post-colonisation as well as the concepts of hybridity and heterogeneity. My focus has been Samoan cultural values and their application to teacher education. My view has been that the place of Samoan cultural values in education is in jeopardy. It is my intention that the theories used have provided a post-colonial but indigenous perspective on the role of Samoan cultural values in a globalised world.

Chapter 8 first provides a brief review of the purpose and aim of the study. This is followed by an explanation of the theoretical framework that clarified the social and cultural changes in Samoa. The chapter is going to discuss the argument in this study. This is followed with the summary of findings, derived from the data analysis in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. The study concludes by highlighting the limitations of the study and making recommendations.

8.2 OVERVIEW OF STUDY

This study investigated the relevance of Samoan cultural values in teacher education practices. The purpose of the investigation of Samoan people and their social and cultural situations in different periods of history was to determine the

degree to which Samoan cultural values had been lost or maintained. This included an analysis of the meaning and relevance of Samoan cultural values to Samoan people in the home, village and church. More importantly, the study investigated the utilisation of Samoan cultural values in the current education system.

As Samoans have had an oral culture, written records about Samoan values did not initially exist. The first recorded interpretation of Samoan traditional values came from missionaries' and European settlers' records from when they arrived in Samoa. The information based on Samoan culture and values gathered by these observers came from Samoan informants, in correlation with their observation of Samoans' everyday social and cultural behaviours, concerning their daily activities. The study found that the stories told by Samoan informants, passed down from generation to generation, became the sole source of Samoan history. Most of the events and activities regarding the social and cultural living situations of Samoans were recorded by missionaries and historians. Later on, after missionaries and European settlers, historians rewrote these records and converted them to text materials (Davidson, 1967; Masterman, 1958) for individuals in Samoa and around the world to read and understand. These materials became the only records available to Samoans and the world, and were used by academic researchers as reference for research.

Before missionaries and European settlers, Samoan culture was homogeneous. It formed the basis of Samoan society of the time. The culture evolved with time but, as there were few outside influences, the integrity of indigenous values was not threatened. The first major changes to the social and cultural living situations of Samoans resulted from the influence of missionaries. From the arrival of missionaries onwards, Samoans were required to be fully clothed with western fabric, use a new language, eat and cook differently, follow new hygiene practices, rely on western medicines, learn to read and write, and adopt Christian values. Missionaries changed almost all Samoan traditional cultural practices.

The nature, meaning, characteristics and practices of some Samoan cultural values captured by missionaries through their observations, and from their interactions with Samoan informants, were utilised in the new heterogeneous Samoan society. In the heterogeneous Samoan society, missionaries omitted some parts of Samoan cultural values to suit the new life styles. Missionaries were able to convince Samoans to replace their old ways with their new Christian ways. The nature, characteristics and meanings of values remained, but some practices were diminished and removed to satisfy Samoan's new Christian beliefs, values and ideas. From missionaries and European records, the study discovered that Samoans were kind and loving to one another. This indicates that the values of respect and obedience were highly recognised in the relationships of parents and children, *matai* (chief) and extended family, sister and brother, and adult and child. The characteristics and nature of these Samoan cultural values were maintained and used by missionaries.

The significance of the Samoan cultural values of respect, love, kindness and obedience were adopted by missionaries as the theme of their work around Samoa. That is, they expected people to display respect to their village pastors and to assist with necessities. Although the Samoan values of respect, love, reciprocity and obedience shared meanings and connotations with the values of missionaries, the way Samoans perform these values in their social and cultural activities was different (Vaa, 2006).

Western education introduced by missionaries focused mostly on educating Samoans to adopt western lifestyles. This meant teaching women about domestic chores and men about farming and carpentry. People were also introduced to basic mathematics (addition and subtraction) and English language for everyday communication.

New Zealand administration during colonisation has realised that Samoans required a Western education to manage their own country after the colonial regime. New Zealand decided that this new education system would be developed to help Samoans mimic western ideas, knowledge, skills, methods and strategies in all areas of life. This study found that new values were then introduced by New Zealand. The Western values of respect, obedience, love and kindness were measured based on the

value of money. Education became very competitive amongst Samoans, after they discovered the many opportunities and benefits that they could have after completion. Educated people were given respect, love and shown kindness by family and community.

The emergence of globalisation in post-colonialism contributed enduring changes to the Samoan cultural value system. The study discovered that the flow of global changes compelled world agencies and developed nations to discard old policies and formulate new ones based on new global social, cultural, economic, political and educational activities. The invention of new policies by world agencies and developed nations represent the changes brought by globalisation. These global social, cultural and educational changes by world organisations and developed nations generated new values to guide the new social, cultural and educational system.

After the colonial period, post-colonial discourses allowed Samoans the freedom to exercise their social, cultural and educational rights. Samoans were given the chance to manage their own social, cultural and education ways. As a result, post-colonialism provided Samoans the opportunity to speak, rather than having the colonisers do it for them (hooks, 1990). In doing so, Samoans have seen education as a mechanism that generated colonial and global knowledge, skills and practices to explore issues pertaining to Samoa and the world. For this reason, western education continued to make life more meaningful and interesting to many Samoans. For instance, missionary drew on religion hence the religious values conflate with values prescribed by the Church, while traditional Samoan values draws on indigenous system.

As mentioned in Chapter 1 that there are three set of values — traditional Samoan values, missionary values and western values. These three sets merged over time, which led to the formation of a hybrid social, cultural and educational system. As a result, the combination of Samoan cultural values, missionary and western values are jointly viewed as being relevant to Samoan society.

In order to examine global changes in a small island nation an indigenous research methodology of *talanoa* and *nofo* was utilised. This methodology was created by examining the literature on Samoan society, culture and education. The utilisation of *talanoa* and *nofo* provides rich information that supports the researcher's standpoint on reporting what happened in the past, and the influence of past experiences on the present and future. In the examination of theories on globalisation and post-colonialism, the researcher drew conclusions on global issues pertaining to Samoa based on the experiences of other nations in Asia and African developing and under-developed nations. In addition, post-colonialism provides space for previously unheard voices. It provides educational opportunities for minority groups, developing and third world nations to raise and comprehend their own social, cultural, education and political issues in post-colonial discourses.

Talanoa and *nofo* enabled the researcher to investigate the issue of Samoan cultural values under the lens of Samoan cultural protocols. To make my place as an indigenous researcher in post-colonial discourse stronger, and to ensure that my participants' voices will not go unnoticed, Feminist standpoint theory was utilised. This standpoint theory advocates for women's rights in society, by paving the way for women to make their stand in society. While not exclusive to women, this was also the aim and goal in this research study, as the aim was to clear the way for the researcher and participants to voice their standpoint, not only through the use of an indigenous methodology but also by providing participants with an indigenous style of articulating their stories. In the end, results were achieved, and responses from the interviews and focus group discussion, along with policy analysis in Chapter 5, provide interesting findings to the investigation on the relevance of Samoan cultural values in teacher education practices.

8.3 THE ARGUMENT

This study investigated Samoan cultural values to find whether the existing values were of any relevance to the current education system. The study exploited globalisation and post-colonial theories to clarify the study's standpoint. The study stated that Samoan cultural values could still be relevant to guide Samoan student teachers' behaviours. The argument that was grounded in this research study was for

Samoa cultural values to be recognised alongside the present day values and reflected in education policies.

The theory of globalisation was employed to confirm and clarify the cause of change to Samoa cultural values. Economic expansion and the spread of technology with media influence, have all contributed to the change in the current Samoa cultural value system. The theory of globalisation reveals that small islands and developing nations have limited options to avoid global social, cultural, educational and economic changes but must accept it for survival. As Chapter 3 illustrated, education became the most vital institution to Samoans as a means to intensify the aims and purpose of global changes in all areas of society, as well as improving their own wellbeing. Chapter 3 puts forward the argument that globalisation in Samoa has had both positive and negative effects. The author argues that Samoan people need to comprehend the subtleties of global change to take advantage of the positive aspects. The study also argues that western education has come about through domination of nation and world organisation values. This research suggests that despite the similarities between western and Samoa values, these values differ in practice. While Samoa values were also incorporated into the current hybrid education system, western values clearly dominate.

After examination of post-colonial discourses, the study illustrates that there are unheard voices to be recognised in Samoa society. These unheard voices were student teachers in the Faculty of Education. Post-colonial theory in this study creates basic alternatives for mixing and blending Samoa and western values to formulate an education system that accommodates a heterogeneous society. Post-colonial approaches allow Samoa people to maintain and use their values, beliefs and ideas in the globalised world. Post-colonial thought allows for re-conceptualisation, re-contextualisation and re-construction of Samoa values, beliefs and ideas in social, cultural and educational activities. The implementation of western educational policies was to ensure that new global changes were introduced in a comprehensive manner so that Samoa could successfully connect with the rest of

the world. Using post-colonial theory, this study advocates that there is a need to re-appropriate and re-contextualise Samoan cultural values alongside western values. Including Samoan cultural values in the current hybrid education system will allow Samoan teachers and students to perform their duties under these hybrid cultural protocols.

Although Samoa's education system is hybrid, the call for equity and efficiency is crucial. Quality education is a right for all people, rather than just a minority. This thesis has highlighted the importance of teacher education and argues that Samoan cultural values are important aspects of life to all students within teacher education.

8.4 RESEARCH FINDINGS

8.4.1 Samoan cultural values

The research findings indicate that Samoan cultural values are interpreted and defined in different ways. The study suggests that traditional Samoan values are a style of living, chosen by people of a society, family or an organisation to follow and guide their social and cultural life. Samoan cultural values, as explained by participants, provide individuals with an identity, and maintain their position in society. The values given by participants in Chapter 2 suggest that not all Samoan cultural values are similar among participants.

The study also found that participants have included the values associated with Christianity which was introduced by missionaries. Other new values include money, education, and western law. The study indicated that Samoan cultural values have changed dramatically, which consequently has led to changes in the social and cultural living situations of Samoans. Despite the changes, the study reveals that participants continue to view Samoan cultural values as very important to guiding behaviour. This occurs without any distinguishing between Samoan, western and Christian values. In this study, all existing values, regardless of their origin, were still referred to by participants as vital to social, cultural and educational activities. Clearly, the colonial influence endures many years after colonisation.

Many values mentioned by participants shared similar meanings with Christian and western society, but differed in the detail or characteristics. For

instance, the value of service was suggested by a participant as an old value in Samoa, where people were to serve their chiefs with all they had. However, the value of service was appropriated and made popular by missionaries when Samoans were asked to serve their village pastors with everything they could provide, and were assured that their reward would come from heaven above.

Participants did not reflect on the possibility that Samoan cultural values had evolved and that most of these values have been blended with western values. Participants did suggest that values play an important role in the lives of student teachers. For instance, the presence of Christian and western ways of living have been labelled by participants as being part of Samoan cultural values. Therefore, the study confirmed that all Samoan cultural values referred to by the participants as Samoan cultural values were hybrid cultural values.

The rapid flow of cultural diversity in Samoa indicates that culturally Samoa is no longer a homogeneous nation. The study showed that participants had problems in distinguishing between Christian, western and traditional Samoan cultural values. The participants saw values as social constructs, where people invented to suit their living situations.

The study found that, with the influence of globalisation, participants have begun to adopt new values, in particular those of economic value and money. The value of money has become so popular in post-colonial Samoa that it has changed the social and cultural structures of Samoan families. It is noted in this study that most Samoans have changed their ways of living in terms of hairstyles, clothing, housing, eating habits, car use and travel. Many have also changed their preferences in terms of educational choices. Samoan people are able to do all these things because they are financially secure.

The study also shows that globalisation has created mixed feelings among Samoans. The consistent global flow of different social and cultural ideas and technology has led to confusion and misinterpretation about the 'right' Samoan cultural values. The study reveals that most participants were hesitant to adopt

western values at the expense of traditional values. This study reveals that globalisation has threatened the future of Samoan cultural values. Samoan cultural values that Samoans were familiar with have changed in order to suit the interests and needs of this new hybrid culture that is now situated in this new heterogeneous system. These hybrid cultural values dominate current teacher education practices in Samoa.

In answering the research question, How does the merging of traditional western cultural values impact on teacher education in Samoa?, the study has found that all participants still have mixed ideas and understanding of Samoan values, as represented in Samoan culture. As a result, student teacher participants exhibited contradictions between how they define their values and how others, for example teachers, perceive their behaviour and values.

8.4.2 RELEVANCE OF SAMOAN CULTURAL VALUES IN THE CURRENT TEACHER EDUCATION PRACTICES

The initial idea of conducting this research was to investigate whether Samoan cultural values were relevant in teacher education practices. Some participants indicated that the lack of Samoan cultural values in teachers college have led to poor student behaviours. These participants believed that Samoan cultural values can prevent poor behaviours from surfacing. These problems, as proposed by participants, were mainly student teachers' misbehaviour in the classroom, as well as interfering with teaching and learning. The study noted that most students were unable to achieve academically, due to ongoing undesirable behaviour in the classroom. Participants indicated that students who were able to acquire the appropriate practices of Samoan cultural values in the home, could also socially and culturally reproduce these at teachers' college. The idea, as indicated by participants, was that students who were well nurtured by their parents in the home might become successful educators. Samoan cultural values, as suggested by participants, would remind students to respect and obey their lecturers and tutors during class activities. As mentioned by participants, students would learn and acquire more Western knowledge, skills and ideas from education if they tended to use Samoan cultural values to guide their behaviours during their classes. Participants also suggested that

students should not need to be reminded about the utilisation of Samoan cultural values in the classroom, if they were well trained by their parents in the home.

Although the emergence of globalisation contributes to many problems, participants pointed out that, if Samoan cultural values remained important in the lives of student teachers, then behavioural problems will lessen. Participants suggested that student teachers would not behave inappropriately in class if they have understood the validity and effectiveness of Samoan cultural values in their social, cultural and educational lives. Therefore, more students would do well in school if they followed the protocols of Samoan cultural values.

The responses from participants indicated that Samoan cultural values were relevant to the current teacher education practices. Participants maintained the belief that Samoan cultural values were very important in guiding student teachers' behaviour in teachers' college. Samoan cultural values, as mentioned by participants, could assist student teachers to attend and perform well in their classes. Participants suggested that, if Samoan cultural values were significant in the development of the child's life in the home, then they should also be well nurtured and utilised in the classroom. Participants suggested that a child, who came into the classroom, should already be equipped with the knowledge of Samoan cultural values.

In brief, this study has found that there is a lack of enactment of Samoan values within the current education system. This has also indicated an absence of ownership, which means that Samoan cultural values, beliefs and ideas have very little contribution to the making of the current Samoan education system. This has led to Samoans being unclear about and reluctant to comprehend the ideologies and methodologies of the education system in relation to their own environment.

8.4.3 THE GAP BETWEEN SAMOAN EDUCATION POLICY AND SAMOAN CLASSROOMS IN TERMS OF VALUES

The study has found that there is minimal research on the issue of Samoan cultural values relating to education policy in Samoa. The issue of Samoan cultural values in relation to the education system is complex. Most of the research conducted

on education policies in Samoa draws on research that originates from developed countries. That is due to the lack of educational research pertaining to Samoa's education system. The policy analysis in chapter 5 reaffirms that the place of Samoan cultural values in the education system has not been not fully recognised in the current Samoan education system. Samoan cultural values were not specifically identified as Samoan values, but all values as stated in the education policy were hybrid values. The results showed that education policies employed by the MESC were coined by other writers as second hand education policies (Green, 2006). The views from Green regarding second hand policy were made to inform other nations of their education policy. It shows that all countries have different social, cultural and educational problems. Therefore, each country also requires different educational values and policies to guide their education system. Instead, world agencies and donor nations provide similar policies and values to all countries who request financial assistance for education. Studies (Green, 2006; Ka Ho Mok, 2006) suggest that these education policies, provided by donor nations and world agencies, were governed by primarily western values and ideas believed to be suitable for underdeveloped nations. However, the manner in which education policies are applied to teaching and learning leads to ineffective application of Samoan values resulting in students failing to learn in accordance with the mandates set by education policies.

The findings demonstrate the complexities of the transition from homogenisation to heterogenisation, where social and cultural living situations of people change. This study, therefore, argues that education policies must also be rearranged to align with the changes that are occurring through globalisation. Significantly, the purpose of education policies has been to capture all new changes and implement these changes into the educational curriculum. Most of these changes, as indicated by most participants, were to do with the global flow of new ideas, values and beliefs. These social and cultural changes usually relate to the attractive economic values that come with globalisation. For instance, students are now seen with iPods, laptops, mobile phones, and many other new technologies that have created problems with their studies. Again, it has created problems between

education policies and classroom learning, where values could not prevent students' problems from surfacing.

The recent educational policy reform in Samoa, aimed to help Samoan people to acquire new knowledge, skills and practices in order to comprehend the globalisation process. As stated by the policy analysis in Chapter 5, most education policies created by donor countries and world agencies, were based on the economic values, beliefs and ideas of globalisation. Therefore, education policies in Samoa, as indicated by the study, were to ensure a smooth relationship between Samoa and the rest of the world. Donor countries and world agencies invited specialists in education policies from developed nations to assist with education reform in Samoa. The social and cultural backgrounds of these specialists have influenced how they construct and organise Samoan education policies. Their cultural values became part of their decision making on issues pertaining to Samoans. Most education policies misrepresented the social and cultural needs and interests of Samoan people. For instance, the promises made by the five key concepts (quality, efficiency, equity, relevancy and sustainability) towards better education in Samoa were problematic, due to the differences between the education policies and classroom learning and teaching. As a result, Samoan education policies may not have achieved the aims and objectives of classroom learning and teaching as there is a disconnect between the policies and the environment which is dominated by Samoan students and teachers with dissimilar social and cultural backgrounds from creators of education system.

The reformed education policies have also contributed positively to Samoan students' educational development. Acquiring western knowledge, skills and practices is vital in a globalised world. This study argues that, in order to reduce the gap between Samoan education policies and Samoan values, hybrid cultural values should be recognised by the education system.

8.5 MY POSITION AS AN INDIGENOUS RESEARCHER

This topic is important to me because, as a Samoan, I grew up with hybrid traditional Samoan cultural values in the home, school, church and village.

Throughout this study, I have stated my own indigenous standpoint and woven my own stories of life in a very traditional Samoan way. The telling of my story contributes to future educational developments and I am hoping that it will assist others with their own educational striving in a globalised world.

Although the strong impact of globalisation has now transformed most parts of the Samoan culture, as an indigenous Samoan, I still believe that Samoan cultural values maintain solidarity in our society. As asserted by other participants, “you cannot be a Samoan by just saying to people that you are Samoan, and that my parents are Samoan” (Interviewee 1). However, it is stronger to make a claim that you are a Samoan if you can speak the language fluently, know the origin of your family, know the locations of your family lands, and follow the Samoan cultural protocols by participating in Samoan cultural activities and ceremonies. These have been all the necessary entities that complete an indigenous Samoan person.

As an indigenous educator, I also accept the fact that values are socially constructed. Individuals develop their own values based on their own needs and interests at a particular time and space. Samoan cultural values are a different phenomenon to the education system, and each phenomenon thus contains its own aims and goals, which contradicts the organisation and operation of its daily activities.

8.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study is non-generalisable due to the small sample selected. The social, cultural and educational issues pertaining to Samoa were represented by a selected small group of participants. These issues were to do with Samoan cultural values and their relevance in the hybrid education system. Participants were asked for their opinion of the relevance of these Samoan cultural values to them in their families and school. The information provided by participants indicated their understanding of Samoan cultural values and their concerns regarding the way Samoans are treating these values in their everyday interactions. However, the suggestions provided by participants in relation to changes to improve the utilisation of Samoan cultural values could not be generalised or be representative for the mass population. In

addition, participants' opinions and views would be suitable to be examined in a longitudinal study.

8.7 FURTHER RESEARCH STUDIES

This study has provoked an interest in doing extensive research that looks at the theoretical side of education in Samoa. Most of the current educational research in Samoa circles around topics such as classroom teaching and learning or teachers' and principals' perceptions, without the theoretical side of education being considered. Therefore, areas that need to be further researched include 'how teachers learn to teach in post-colonial Samoa', 'impact of globalisation on Samoan students' education', 'how the teacher shortage in Samoa impacts on students' educational success', 'what can be done to avoid parents being biased towards rural schools?' and 'what can be done to improve school and community partnership' 'Schools should be more consistent with the utilisation of Samoan cultural values in teaching and learning', hybrid education system should be more flexible and advocate for all cultures in society By asking these questions, there can be a move towards a deeper comprehension of the influence of colonisation and globalisation on Samoan education system. A translation of theory into practice intends to assist in unearthing bias and a move toward equitable education system. More importantly, education must be widely researched to obtain adequate information to build quality education and to strengthen students' vision towards higher results.

8.8 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are based on the results that were drawn from the three analysis chapters in this research study. Some other recommendations are drawn from the theories that were used throughout the study to confirm the current advantages and disadvantages of the education system in Samoa. Participants' opinions were treated as their own indigenous standpoint. They were free to voice their views based on the questions asked by the study. This study makes the following recommendations:

Samoan cultural values presented throughout this study by participants differed in terms of meaning as well as relevance to their social, cultural or education paths in life. Therefore, the first recommendation is *that Samoan cultural values must be clearly outlined in the current and any future education policy.*

The effect of rapid globalisation in Samoa is displayed by the behaviours of student teachers in the classroom. These are behaviours that correlate with poor academic performances, and prevent some student teachers from completing their studies. These global changes must be made well known to the general public so that all students and the world are aware of their advantages and disadvantages. Therefore, *the second recommendation is that the education policy should explicitly outline tenets of cultural complexity and diversity that can facilitate effective participation of students in a multicultural society.*

The third recommendation is that *hybrid education be encouraged in Samoa, such as the utilisation of both local and international resources and materials, as well as English and Samoan languages during teaching and learning.* This has led to a broader version of understanding this global change, where parents and significant adults must work collaboratively with the schools to lessen student problems in the classrooms. This can happen after educational awareness programs operate in their own communities, where parents and teachers educate themselves with educational and cultural alternatives that can be utilised to assist with students' behavioural problems.

The fourth recommendation is that *community, parents and teachers must all work together to reinforce Samoan values in children's behaviour.* Parents must also be present in their children's university learning. If schools, parents and community can work together, then the FoE and the MESC should start working closely with schools, and the broader community to improve the standard of teaching and improve quality of learning in schools. The study indicates a tension between the two institutions, where FoE was not well informed with some of MESC activities, but it is very important that both institutions must be made aware of each other's current and future educational obligations.

The current thesis provides a holistic view of the education system in Samoa, the application of Samoan cultural values in a post-colonial education system, and how this affects the outcome of students and the overall success of education in Samoa. The current thesis has utilised theories and its application to comprehend the various issues in relation to Samoan cultural values versus the Samoan education system. The theories clarify the thesis standpoint in relation to Samoan cultural values and how it evolved throughout the different periods in Samoa. In fact, the theories contribute to identifying the problems, as well as looking at how and why Samoan people and their culture changes from time to time.

8.9 EPILOGUE

The results of this study indicate that the power and integrity of traditional Samoan cultural values in everyday social, cultural and educational life no longer exist in a post-colonial society. Traditional Samoan cultural values and their importance in the social and cultural life situations of Samoan people in general have been swept away by the high tide of globalisation. The strong influential Samoan culture my generation and generations before me have experienced are no longer able to amalgamate people in good traditional faith and peace. Samoan homogeneous culture is now replaced by a heterogeneous system, which formulates a hybrid cultural system that captures both local and global cultural complexity and diversity. In fact, these are the binaries that people who have been colonised have to live with and such tensions are never resolved. But, if some attention is provided to traditional Samoan values along with western values, there might be a way to achieve some equilibrium within teacher education.

The current study contributes to the post-colonial discourses that involve indigenous education in a variety of topics. I have explored the research topic from a variety of perspectives, such as an indigenous standpoint, which documents narratives, impact of missionaries, imperialism, colonisation, globalisation and the importance of post-colonisation. The discussion of Samoan cultural values has been examined by an inquiry of participants from different professional fields and student

teachers. The idea for this kind of qualitative research was to collect enough information to confirm whether Samoan cultural values were still relevant to Samoan students and student teachers. However, it showed that Samoan cultural values have always remained as precious to Samoan student teachers. In return, I have learned that we need to have these debates about Samoan and global values in the core parts of the curriculum. Every school, university and government ministry needs to have this discussion openly. The idea in this research study was to re-articulate a proper space for Samoan cultural values inside this new hybrid system. This research study enabled me to discover this 'third space' by Bhabha, which now becomes my space to voice my educational concerns.

I am an indigenous Samoan in this 'third space', now sharing my story and hoping that other Samoan educators will contribute to this same space. Our way of storying our concerns is our Samoan way of maintaining traditions and true meaning of culture. Therefore, this post-colonial 'third space' has opened up the door for similar stories that one day will help to improve the social, cultural and educational life situations of former colonised indigenous people living in a globalised world.

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Appendices

Appendix A PHD Research letter to CEO MESE



Tagataese Tupu Tuia
National University of Samoa
Papaigalagala
Work #: 20072 ext130/176
Hm #: 25671
Mb#: 7281065
Email: t.tuia@nus.edu.ws

10 February 2009

Chief Executive Officer
Ministry of Education
Sports and Culture
Malifa, Apia
Samoa

Dear Sir,

I am a lecturer in the Faculty of Education at the National University of Samoa. Currently, undertaking PhD studies at Queensland University of Technology in Australia.

I am writing to request some special permission to enter two of your local primary schools (Saina and Vaimoso) for my focus group discussion with some of the teachers that have graduated from Malifa Teachers college and Faculty of Education at the National University of Samoa. The focus group discussion requires the participation of (5) five teachers from each school. These five teachers can be divided into two groups.

- (2) two teachers graduated from Malifa Teachers college
- (2) two teachers graduated from the Faculty of Education
- (1) one school principal.

The school principal of each school will be given the authorisation to choose the teachers as participants for this research study. I would also like to ask if it is possible to set up my appointment with these schools in the afternoon after school. Starting time will be at 2pm of any date during the month of April 2009. The participation of participants in this focus group will only take approximately 1.5 hours. Each school will have their own focus group discussion in their own school.

The main focus of the study is to examine whether these Samoan values are still adequately appropriate to control problems such as inadequate teacher-student interaction, student-student interaction that are continuously displayed by student teachers in and out of the classroom. Adopting an indigenous standpoint, this study argues that these problems are the result of inappropriate attention to traditional value systems that form the basis of everyday life of Samoans and the mismatch between home and educational expectations. Hence, examining the appropriate integration of traditional values in teacher education policies requires urgent attention.

I have enclosed a sample copy of Queensland University of Technology Australia ethical clearance and consent form for participants. You will also find a copy of a letter that will go out to participants, and a sample copy of focus group discussion questions.

If there are any other further questions regarding this research study, please do not hesitate to contact the researcher with the contact numbers as indicated above.

Thank you

Tagataese Tupu Tuia.

Appendix B
PHD Research letter NUSS CSS



Tagataese Tupu Tuia
National University of Samoa
Papaigalagala
Wk #: 20072 ext130/176
Hm #: 25671
Mb #: 7281065
Email: t.tuia@nus.edu.ws

10 February 2009

Director of CSS
National University of Samoa
Papaigalagala

Dear Sir,

I am a lecturer in the Faculty of Education at the National University of Samoa. Currently, I am undertaking PhD studies at Queensland University of Technology in Australia.

The main focus is to examine whether these Samoan values are still adequately appropriate to control problems such as inadequate teacher-student interaction, student-student interaction that are continuously displayed by student teachers in and out of the classroom. Adopting an indigenous standpoint, this study argues that these problems are the result of inappropriate attention to traditional value systems that form the basis of everyday life of Samoans and the mismatch between home and educational expectations. Hence, examining the appropriate integration of traditional values in teacher education policies requires urgent attention.

I am writing to request some special permission to do a research with (5) five NUS staff members from the Faculty of Education, and (20) twenty Faculty of Education students.

Faculty of Education staff members will only require to participate in a focus group discussion of not more than 2 hours in one day. Faculty of Education students are require to participate in a focus group discussion that will clarify the questionnaires that they will be working on. The questionnaire will only be for 20 minutes, and students are allow to answer this questionnaire during their free times or at home. Students involvement with the focus group discussion will only be for one and a half hour, depending on their views on issues that will be discuss in relation to their responses to the questionnaires.

I have enclosed copies of consent forms and a letter for NUS staff members and students.

If there are any other further questions regarding this research study, please do not hesitate to contact the researcher with the contact details as indicated above. I am looking forward to hear from you soon.

Thank you,

Tagataese Tupu Tuia

Appendix C
PHD Letter to individual participants for interviews



Tagataese Tupu Tuia
National University of Samoa
Papaigalagala
Samoa.
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10 February 2009

Dear Research Participants

I am writing to request your participation in a research that correlates with your area of work or study in your home country. I am a PhD student at Queensland University of Technology Australia. My research is looking into the importance of Samoan traditional values in teacher education or the Faculty of Education at the National University of Samoa.

The main focus is to examine whether these Samoan values are still adequately appropriate to control problems such as inadequate teacher-student interaction, student-student interaction that are continuously displayed by student teachers in and out of the classroom.

Adopting an indigenous standpoint, this study argues that these problems are the result of inappropriate attention to traditional value systems that form the basis of everyday life of Samoans and the mismatch between home and educational expectations. Hence, examining the appropriate integration of traditional values in teacher education policies requires urgent attention.

It is appropriate in this research that the participant is protected from any risk that may arise during the research. The mere aim is to provide you, the participant with the freedom to respond whenever you intend to speak. The questions will be given out to participant all at once, and that for participant to respond at any time.

I have enclosed a form provided by Queensland University of Technology Australia. The form explains the purpose of the research as well as the expectations of the researcher. Please read and follow the instruction on these forms before signing.

Thank you for taking time to be part of this research study, and looking forward to hear from you soon.

Thank you.

Tagataese Tupu Tuia

APPENDIX D TEACHER TRAINEES QUESTIONNAIRE



TEACHER TRAINEES QUESTIONNAIRE

The purpose of this questionnaire is to find out some background information on your understanding of Samoan traditional values. It is also to investigate your understanding about the importance of home life in relation to school. The idea behind this questionnaire is to find out whether Samoan values have any significances in the training of Samoan teacher-trainees at the Faculty of Education in the National University of Samoa.

Name (Optional): _____

Please circle what applies to you:

Gender: **Male** **Female**

Age: 19 – 21 22 – 25 26 – 30 31 – 35 36 – 40 41 – 45 46+

Please answer the following questions to the best of your knowledge.

1. What village are you from? _____
2. What school did you last attend? _____
3. What do your parents do for a living? _____
4. Do you belong to any village group? If yes, name the group, if not, state why?

5. Do you belong to any church group? If yes, name the group, if not, state why?

6. Describe the Samoan values and its significance to Samoans?

7. Why did you decide to become a teacher?

8. Explain the importance of Samoan values to your education.

9. Does your home life correlate with your school life? If yes or no, please explain.

10. Do your parents have any positive influence on your education?

11. How should a Samoan girl and boy behave in accordance with the Samoan culture?

12. Why do people assume that television is a bad influence on Samoan children?

13. What is the significance of Samoan values to Samoan people?

Thank you for completing this questionnaire

